

VOLUME 13

MARCH, 1935

NUMBER 3



# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

LETTERS OF ALBION W. SMALL TO LESTER F. WARD BY BERNHARD  
J. STERN

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT BY E.  
PENDLETON HERRING

CHANGING CULTURE OF THE CITY BY WALTER J. MATHERLY

CAPITALISM—AN OBSOLETE TOOL? BY JAMES GILBERT EVANS

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS  
OF CHURCHES BY F. STUART CHAPIN

IS ART THE PRODUCT OF ITS AGE? BY JOHN H. MUELLER

BLIND RELIEF LEGISLATION BY HARRY JACOB BREVIS

MEASURING RACIAL MENTAL TRAITS BY T. J. WOOFER, JR.

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VOLUME 13, NO. 3

# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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# SOCIAL FORCES

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By JOHN TAINE [Eric Temple Bell, Professor of Mathematics, California Institute of Technology]

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# SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1935

## THE LETTERS OF ALBION W. SMALL TO LESTER F. WARD: II\*

EDITED BY BERNHARD J. STERN

*Columbia University*

Chicago, Ill. July 10, 1895.

I send proof herewith and shall hope for its return at your earliest convenience—we shall of course not need the *copy* again.

I did not authorize the *definite* article but only the *indefinite* "a leading feature," which will let you off somewhat easier, though I don't feel called on to pity you very much. Your reputation isn't going to take a drop if this first paper is a sample of what is to come. I think we have reached a time in which it is scientific strategy to deal in a very elementary way with some rudimentary principles.

My present feeling is that it would be better to *reprint* that 4th lecture from the *Anthropologist*, but we will decide that later.<sup>1</sup> Since you are to be so far away, I will have the lectures set up as fast as

you furnish copy, so that no time will be lost in sending proofs back and forth.

I hardly know what to say about the new Pres't of Columbian.<sup>2</sup> He has been an immense success in his own particular line of effort—public speaking. My present opinion is that this has taken so much of his attention that he has given little room for formation of judgment about the other and more important parts of a College and especially a University President's qualifications. I do not think that the reputation with which he goes to Washington is based on any tangible evidence, one way or the other, as to his fitness for the particular things that will be demanded of him. He has that part of his reputation to make, though I think there is a general impression that because he can do one thing exceptionally he has therein demonstrated his ability to do all things equally well. You will understand my inability to follow that sort of reasoning. He is a most likeable man, and I *hope* he will fill the bill. I am not however, as much impressed as some others by the single fact that a man can capture miscellaneous audiences. When he gets to Washington I will send him a note of introduction to you, and I hope you will quietly inoculate him with certain kinds of ideas which he has not been very

\* In connection with this second installment of the Small-Ward correspondence, it seems appropriate to call special attention to their contribution as part of the picture of what sociology was and what sociologists were doing in this earlier period. The editors of *SOCIAL FORCES* have adjudged these letters important not merely because they are of interest or of historical value, but because of many items of value to the present generation of younger sociologists.

The first installment of these letters appeared in *SOCIAL FORCES*, December, 1933, pp. 163-173. It is hoped that their publication can be completed at an early date.—*Editors*.



familiar with. He assimilates new things with wonderful rapidity. My query is whether he can get them beyond rhetoric into work. . . .

I am hoping to get time for a paper continuing your discussion of Static & Dynamic Sociology. I think you are all right in the main, but I disagree with you about some of the implications and conclusions, of which I will say more in print.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The article on the "Relation of Sociology to Anthropology" first appeared in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 7 (1895), pp. 241-256, and was later included in the series with the addition of four last paragraphs in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1 (January 1896), pp. 426-433.

<sup>2</sup> Benaiah L. Whitman.

<sup>3</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1 (Sept. 1895), pp. 195-209.

Chicago, Ill. August 7, 1895.

Your paper has just reached me. I made enquiries at once at the press dept. about your extras which I supposed had been shipped long ago. They will be forwarded "immediately," but fear that will be too late to reach you. The circulars will be sent with them.

At first I was inclined to say that the paper on Anthropology would have to be omitted, on the ground that it had already been published. I think however, that if this will be the only case I would like to give the readers of the *Journal* the whole series. I am particularly interested in No. III. It will go far toward lifting the subject up into daylight.

I shall leave town August 12. If this reaches you in time for such a change of plans, I wish you would come to our house, if you will be prepared to accept us as you find us—all pulled to pieces and fortified against moths that might take our place during absence. My house is 5731 Washington Ave., about five (5)

minutes walk from the 57th St. (South Park) station of the Illinois Central R. R. which is the best conveyance from the centre of the city. . . .

In the earlier numbers of the *Journal* I shall be obliged to include much that is "sociology" only by very liberal application of the term. I shall get down to more serious average later, though I do not propose to make the publication as laboriously repellant to ordinary non-professional men of good intellectual ability, as most scientific journals feel bound to be.

Chicago, Ill. August 13, 1895.

Your notes just received. I was also delayed and am just starting for my train. Have left orders for the titles to be arranged according to your own suggestion viz. *Contributions to Social Philosophy*.

Second Paper, "Sociology & Cosmology" I have ordered the Chapter-title only to be put on the cover of the *Journal* but the full title to be put on cover of reprints. If you wish to give any other directions address The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. and they will be attended to. Your papers are already attracting attention although we have had a revolution in our mail dept consequent upon delinquency in getting the 1st number out according to orders. Your papers will be the feature in spite of your disclaimer.

Chicago, Ill. November 30, 1895.

The reprints ought to have been sent out at once. Our press department is trying to do about three times its capacity. Hence delays.

I was glad to get reprint of your *Forum* paper<sup>1</sup> on which I had already commented in various places, as a most significant sign of the times. I am actually beginning to fear that when the daylight breaks it will

break from so many quarters and with such startling suddenness, that people will not know how to keep their bearings.

I am glad that Benaiah Whitman is already training the sociological guns upon Washington. I hope the unequally yoked together ox-and-ass combination of governmental branches—which end corresponds to which, I will not presume to dictate—will exemplify a few rudiments of intelligent sociology this winter.

<sup>1</sup> "Plutocracy and Paternalism" *Forum*, Vol. 20 (November 1895), pp. 300-310. With his characteristic vigor Ward wrote: "Nothing is more obvious today than the signal inability of capital and private enterprise to take care of themselves unaided by the state; and while they are incessantly denouncing 'paternalism'—by which they mean the claim of the defenseless laborer and artisan to a share in this lavish state protection, they are all the while besieging legislatures for relief from their own incompetency, and 'pleading the baby act' through a trained body of lawyers and lobbyists. The dispensing of national pap to this class should rather be called 'maternalism' to which a square, open and dignified paternalism would be infinitely preferable."

Chicago, Ill. *January 30, 1896.*

... Ross will begin *Social Control* in the March number. He writes me that he was startled by the closeness with which some things in the January number graze on his territory. He didn't specify. I have also his consent to give a course during our Summer Quarter. Some details about time remain to be arranged, but I hope they will be mutually satisfactory. I don't know a man of his age who carries more brains under his hat, and I like to help bring such a man into notice. I haven't much affection for people whose bluster is in inverse ratio with their achievements.

Chicago, Ill. *March 3, 1896.*

I wanted to write to you before the March number of the *Journal* reached you,

but could not get to it. The devil seemed to get in his work on you particularly this time. In the first place after the make up was completed, I found that your paper had been omitted—the reward of promptness. I had the closing pages torn out and the article inserted. Then I find that in the paper itself and in the review [of Simon N. Patten *Theory of Social Forces* (Philadelphia 1896) in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1 (March 1896), pp. 632-639] some villainous oversights of proof reading. Between us we got Patten's name wrong after all, but that botch of his degree—P.h.D.—was the pressman's rascality. Our proofs show that it was all right when last proved. I only read the Ms. of the review and not the proofs, but I feel humiliated nevertheless.

I have spent the evening on Giddings' book [*Principles of Sociology* (New York 1896),] which arrived this afternoon. I think of sending it to Putnam of Cambridge to be reviewed as Anthropology & Ethnology. It is that or nothing. It strikes me as the most hopeless confusion of undigested learning and arrogant sciolism that long suffering sociology has had to father. It seems to me that the method which he proposes, pp. 12 & 17 is essentially the Baconian, and that the method of p. 70 is an entirely different program. If *consciousness of kind* is the mouse which his mountain has brought forth perhaps we ought to forgive Giddings on the Scotch girl's plea—"it's such a little one." I gave that conceit all the passing allusion I thought it worth in the note on "Social or Societary" May 1895 *Annals* [of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 5, p. 950].<sup>1</sup> I had no suspicion that it was the forthcoming key to the mysteries of Society. Three hours are hardly a justification for any opinion at all. I shall say nothing for the public, for more than that number of months and then

I may be more appreciative. At present I feel depressed that it is possible for that sort of work to deceive its own author into the illusion that it proceeds upon the positive method.

I have just received the 1st vol. of Schafle's new edition [*Bau und Leben des Sozialen Körpers* (2nd Ed. Tübingen 1896)] which pleases me greatly. I was also much interested in your discussion of the filiation of the sciences, reported in *Science*. [N. S. Vol. 3 (Feb. 21, 1896), pp. 292-294] I wish I could share Giddings' complaisant feeling (p. 17) that the heavy work of Sociology is now over, and what remains is a mere matter of details.<sup>2</sup> I suspect that the holy grail of the single explanatory principle is as far from sight as before this book was conceived. If this is merely professional jealousy, I suppose the unanimous assent of the rest of the world will set me right.

<sup>1</sup> Here Small characterizes the doctrine as belonging in the class of "remote metaphysical categories."

<sup>2</sup> Giddings wrote: "Sociology has been (let us confess it) a substance of scientific things hoped for, but, the realization of its logical possibilities is at least a little nearer now than it was when Mr. Spencer wrote his awakening chapter on 'Our Need of It' (the *Study of Sociology*, Chap. I). There is, indeed every reason to believe that the time has come when its principles, accurately formulated and adequately verified can be organized into coherent theory."

"No new principle of objective interpretation need be looked for. The physical process in society as in the desmid or the star, is that of formal evolution through the equilibration of energy. There is much work to be done, however, before the ramifications of this process through all our human relations will be fully understood."

"But in the subjective interpretation it will be necessary as we already know to start from that new datum which has been sought hitherto without success, but which can now no longer remain unperceived in the narrowing range of inquiry . . . the sociological postulate can be no other than this namely: The original and elemental subjective fact in society is the consciousness of kind." (*Principles of Sociology*, p. 17.)

Chicago, Ill. March 10, 1896.

Your note just received. I very much fear the reprints are already off the press, and on the way to you. At the worst I will have the leaflet of *errata* printed and forwarded. At the best I will have your instructions followed completely.

All that I have in writing on your *Statics & Dynamics* I have torn out of my note book and enclosed herewith, I hope you can make out the writing. Possibly I have not said enough to make the notes of any value. I am surprised myself to find how little there is in them. They are my brief for a couple of lectures, and I expanded the points at some length. My line of action was, as you see, to schedule the different descriptions or characterizations of *Statics & Dynamics* in your essay, with the idea that they were not coherent and consistent. I have not satisfied myself that my criticisms will stand, but it may be worth your while to look over this dissection. . . .

Please return the leaves after you are through with them. I wish I had Giddings' book at hand. It seems to me that he had made one point against you which is well taken—the book is in my office at the University and I haven't it clearly in mind. It is on your use of *feeling* & *function*. As I remember Giddings' criticism,<sup>1</sup> it is substantially that wh. I make (J. of Sociol. Vol. 1 No. 2, [Sept., 1895] p. 198 note).<sup>2</sup>

On one other point I might say that I have reached a somewhat different outlook. I would say that sociology involves two distinct processes,—(1) accumulation and arrangement of material (what I have called *descriptive sociol.*), (2) *interpretation* of material; which as Bernes has said in the January *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, must be contemplated in three aspects (*vid. enclosure*), which are very nearly what



I mean by (1) Social Statics, (2) Social Dynamics, (3) Social Idealics, if such a term can be made tolerable. Thus I by no means make Descriptive Sociology a logically coordinate division with (1) (2) & (3) but an indispensable preliminary, needing to be conducted so as to fill out categories which had not occurred to people as of great consequence till sociological analysis began to make them prominent.

Schäffle's book is vols I & II of *Bau und Leben [des Socialen Körpers]* compressed into one vol. to be followed by a second vol. covering the matter of vols. III & IV of Ed. 1. Tübingen, Laupp'sche Buchhandlung.

## ENCLOSURE:

*Programme of a Course in Sociology.* By Marcel Bernes.—Two leading articles in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* for December 1895 and January 1896. The former article is notable chiefly for its clear delimitation of *society* as a primordial and unique reality, and thus a proper object of study. Remainder of first article acutely criticises numerous misconceptions of the relation of societary to antecedent phenomena; but misconceptions likely to bother beginners rather than proper interpretations of the fundamental conceptions of mature contemporary sociologists. The second article reaches the conclusion that the proper content of sociology falls into three divisions: (1) Analysis of social solidarity as a fact of present knowledge, a real fact of consciousness as reality reaching beyond the individual; *collective* or *sociological psychology*. (2) The study of social evolution, or social solidarity in history, i.e., *philosophy of history* or *history of civilization*. (3) If social life is always in part composed of elements already fixed, it is always partially composed of collective tendencies, ideas, inspirations, and we

need to appraise the value of these. Solidarity is not a fact once for all accomplished. It is an ideal capable of realization in the future. Society is a becoming, and the future is not wholly contained in the past. Sociological idealism, the relative value of past and future. Thus sociology will be the center of *sociological ethics*, not be separated from existing realities, but not to be reduced to mere discovery of standards of customs in nations or epochs.

These different problems complement each other. Every question presented by social life may be considered in its relation to each of points of view, nor is a social question truly solved until it has been considered under each of these aspects.

(Giard et Briere, 16 Rue Soufflot, Paris.)

## ENCLOSURE 2: [Small's notes]

*The Marks of Dynamic Action*

The task which I have set myself for the present year appears at first glance to be purely technical and even pedantic. It is, however, an effort to push ahead in classification and in criticism of social activities, with the distinct purpose of contributing finally to knowledge of more effective measures of social practice with distinct view to progress.

I want to learn more of the distinguishing marks and trails of acts and influences that are genuinely progressive; more of the conditions in which they are possible; more of the obstacles which they have to surmount. As I claimed last year, and as I have seen reason to insist more strongly since, the most instructive lessons in progress are to be derived from *efforts* at progress, not from *a priori* reasonings about progress. This is the perception which Dr. Felix Adler expressed in a remark which I had never heard of till last week (*Int. Journ. of Ethics* Oct. 1895, p. 92).

"Action itself is the best means of discovering the principles that should determine action. We are not at liberty indeed to act blindly or on mere impulse. But having endeavored with painstaking conscientiousness to ascertain the right, let us heartily and courageously begin to put in practice what we think so; always indeed holding our convictions subject to revision under the teachings of experience, and yet serving what we hold to be the truth with unbounded devotion because it stands to us for the time being in the place of Abstract Truth."

(Herbert Spencer has said something like this, but I cannot now locate it.)

Now men have done this and are doing it in social effort. Our own experiments are best, our neighbors' experiments are next best indexes of wisdom. I make the claim in the interest both of immediate efficiency and of progress in abstract theory, that the most enlightening thing we can do is to study the well-meant attempts of men to improve social relations—little as they have accomplished.

I mean by progress passage into or towards social conditions in which the possibilities of the social state (whatever they may turn out to be) shall be achieved by human beings singly and collectively in a larger measure than before.

Ward claims (*Dyn. Soc.*, passim) that progress up to date has been mainly accidental, but that we now have the means of volitional (teleological-telic) progress. (Cf. LeConte, *Monist*, July '95, pp. 487 sq.)

In this we probably all agree but we have as yet no very extensive exposition of the conditions and means of progress. Nobody has pushed the philosophy of progress in its formal aspect further, on the whole, than Ward. In studying the conditions of future progress, I find it expedient therefore to begin where he has left off. This makes it necessary to deal more

fully than many are willing to with questions of methodological terminology and classification, which, as I have said, may seem utterly pedantic, but are not.

We want to know the *attributes of progressive action* in general, so that we may oppose proposed actions if they betray nonprogressive characteristics—or if they fail to exhibit the requirements of progress.

We want to know whether progressive social agencies and activities are a class by themselves, whether they have peculiar characteristics by which they may always be differentiated and distinguished. The surest way that I can suggest to discover these facts is to observe actions which admittedly *make for progress*, and others which fail to do so, and to register and tabulate and generalize their peculiarities.

In doing this we have certain terms already in use, with certain assertions about their content. We may as well start with these terms as used by Ward "Static & Dynamic Sociology" *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 2 [June 1895, pp. 203-220]. According to Ward fact or action is when it is:

#### "STATIC"

A.—Without connection with feeling (206).

B.—Concerned with structure or function (207).

"The object of function is essentially the preservation of forms. It has nothing to do with their modification."

C.—Concerned with growth or multiplication (207).

D.—Concerned with mere quantitative change (208).

E.—So long as the type remains the same, the phenomena, whatever they may be, are static; there is permanence and stability (210). The law that works for this phenomenon is "heredity." The counter law is called "variation" (211).

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F.—Static actions leave matters in the same state after as before their performance (215). (Cf. Dynam. K.)

G.—The test of a static phenomenon is that it shall relate to function, i.e., shall have directly or indirectly to do with some one of nature's ends in sustaining, continuing, or mitigating life (218). (Cf. Dynam. J.)

H.—Social structures are institutions and static sociology embrace the study not only of the nature of institutions but of all that they accomplish in their normal capacity—their anatomy and physiology (218).

Form or action is

#### "DYNAMIC"

when it is:

A.—Concerned with feeling (206).

B.—Concerned with qualitative change (208).

C.—Such things as political revolutions, religious reforms, the reversal of economic opinions (208).

D.—Growing directly out the fundamental fact called feeling, (209).

E.—An advantage, benefit, or good independent of both the individual (feeling) and the race (function)—something that is useful to the world at large, or to the general scheme of development or evolution; i.e., it does not benefit that individual or that race, but institutes processes that are to benefit many or all individuals or races (210).

F.—The elements and the sole elements of progress (210).

G.—Transmutation, as contrasted with growth and multiplication. (Statics 210).

H.—Produces modifications (and usually advance) in the type (211).

I.—In so far as we deal with physical modifications in man's bodily structures we are treating of dynamic *biology*. When

we deal with modifications in his *surroundings* and in his relations to the universe, we are treating of dynamic *sociology* (212).

J.—Dynamic Sociology is the science which considers the change in social structures and functions (213). (Cf. Statics B. G.).

K.—A dynamic action is one that affects not merely the primary agent at the particular time, but all other agents for all time. Such actions are sometimes called "fructifying causes" (215).

L.—The test of a dynamic phenomenon is that it shall relate to feeling and shall have to do with the *direct* effects of action in the effort to satisfy want, i.e., with the ends of the individual in some one of the three primary classes (life-sustaining, continuing, mitigating) (219).

Now the apparently pedantic element in the investigation that I propose is the incidental inquiry whether Ward's definitions are self-consistent. But this inquiry is not for the sake of *correcting an essay*, it is for the sake of clearing up the obscure thought betrayed in their apparently irreconcilable propositions. We are not in possession of the critical appliances for dynamic discovery until our initial concepts are clearer than Ward's exhibit implicates. (Take, for example, the apparent contradiction between Statics B & G and Dynamics J.)

But the more important technical inquiry is—assuming that we have formally settled the boundaries between the static and the dynamic in some way or other—is it true that the dynamic, i.e., the progressive (Dyn. F) necessarily tends to change of type (Dyn. H), is nothing dynamic which tends to intensification of function without modifying structure.

For example, we have today the structural relation of employer and employee. Is it certain *a priori* that the only progres-



sive impulse which can affect these relations is one which would abolish the relation and substitute another?

Or, we have the monogamous *family*, and it plays a certain rôle in society. Is it to be taken for granted that the only way to integrate families into more satisfactory society is to disintegrate the present family structure?

Or, in the case of representative government, can reforms be successful only by changes in the type of government?

Apparently Ward is shut up to this opinion by his theses about dynamics.

Now for the sake of testing the fact I propose the theses: "a progressive (dynamic) act or influence is any conscious and deliberate effort of one or more persons to bring a social condition into existence that has not been realized before—this may be either an intensification of activities without change of social type, or a change of structure."

Thus, for example, a movement to induce a larger proportion of voters to attend the primaries is according to me but not according to Ward, dynamic, progressive. It does not change type, but procures more energetic action of the type.

So of reenforcing public opinion that compels service on a jury, or that prohibits rack-rent, or that discourages social drinking habits, or that educates people to stop littering the streets, etc., etc.

In spite of its seeming pedantry it is a question of enormous import whether the improvement of society hangs wholly upon constant changes of social structure. (If so, the mechanical schemes for social improvement are of vastly greater relative importance than I believe.) Or is social progress to be anticipated in part through intensification of activity within structures already developed?

You will see that I have thus proposed a double inquiry: 1st, what are the common

marks of progressive social influences. This inquiry is directly practical. 2nd, how shall we distinguish, designate and classify progressive social influences. This is obviously a technical question. Its answer, however, is, though indirectly, ultimately of the most practical importance, as it must form the provisional basis for deductive criticisms of social propositions.

The first step which seems to me necessary in reaching a solution of these questions is to catalogue the efforts known to us in the different departments of social activity corresponding with the specifications above.

What efforts aiming at a now existent but desirable condition are in operation among us? (De Greef?)

<sup>1</sup> Giddings' criticism reads "Mr. Ward—having shown with beautiful clearness that function is a static phenomena, immediately throws his whole argument into confusion by putting feeling over against function, not only in the sense in which the subjective is opposed to the objective but in a very different sense, by identifying feeling exclusively with what he calls dynamic, in distinction from what we all agree in calling static, phenomena. Now feeling is unquestionably dynamic: it is power. But it may have either static or kinetic manifestations. It is the motive power in normal social function, no less than in the transforming movements of revolution and reform. (*Principles of Sociology*, p. 30 note.)

<sup>2</sup> Small argued in this note "The issue raised by the attempt to make *feeling* the principle of discrimination between static and dynamic relations cannot be discussed here. Professor Ward's thesis is: 'The most fundamental antithesis in phenomena is between those of *feeling* on the one hand and *function* on the other. . . . Everything connected with feeling is therefore primarily dynamic.' My answer would be simply: Then *everything* social is primarily dynamic, since it has its roots at last in the feelings of the social units. My weariness when I go to bed at night (*feeling*) and my hunger when I rise in the morning (*feeling*), are more intimately connected with the static functions of restoring the bodily tissues than they can possibly be with any dynamic function, say of instigating a revolution in the interest of easier food supply for my descendants.

Social reality in its every aspect is shot through and through with *feeling*. Whatever be the categories according to which we divide social phenomena, *feeling* of some past will have to be recognized in each and all of them."

Chicago, Ill. March 19, 1896

On "*feeling vs. function*" have you noticed a criticism by Dewey, then of Ann Arbor, now of Chicago, I should say at a guess that it appeared Jan. '94, in the *Journal of Philosophy*.<sup>1</sup> If you care for it and haven't at hand a means of verifying it at once I will get you the reference. My recollection is that it was a review of *Psychic Factors*, and that it took the same position with reference to your use of "*feeling*" that I have suggested. I have felt all along that you have had connotations in mind which, when explained, would put a different look on your propositions about "*feeling and function*," but I am quite sure you have not expressed them so that we can do justice to your idea. My impression is that you have taken for granted some familiarity with certain technical conceptions in biology, and that terms which carry a commonplace meaning with you somehow lose important parts of their content among people not acquainted with the biological usage.

As to Giddings' "*dynamics vs. kinetics*" (p. 58), I have no sympathy with the trick of trying to force a metaphor out of its place and then of making it run on all fours. Giddings seems to think that by taking a change of venue from physiological metaphor to the language of physics and then by turning discussion to points not necessarily involved in the expositions he is criticising, he can somehow come out with credit for all the clear thinking that has been done up to date, and for everything that will be done after his dogmatism appears. He virtually accuses people who have used the terms "*static*" and

"*dynamic*" of supposing that force is not present in the former aspect of phenomena. That part of his argument seems to me too trifling for notice. The point I had in mind was in the *note* on p. 58, so far as it is concerned with the alleged antithesis between feeling & function. So far, it seems to me Giddings and I stand together, as I indicated *American Journal of Sociology* Sept. '95, pp. 196 & 198 *notes*. By the way, I should cite this second note against Giddings, to show that whatever faults there may be in my conception of statics, it has never needed to be told that the phenomena of adhesion and cohesion &c—whether in matter or in society—are equally phenomena of force, as much as motion that changes the relation of parts or the place of the whole.

On "*idealics*" I have said from the beginning that there is nothing whatever in it that you have not suggested and by implication provided for in *Dyn. Soc.* Referring to your theorems of *Dyn. Soc.* vol. II, p. 108-109<sup>2</sup> I would say that under *E. Knowledge* you provide for acquaintance with the environment, which you have always seemed to me to describe too exclusively as the *physical* environment, but of course you include *all* knowledge of the moral as well as the physical environment, i.e. knowledge organized by all the sciences from bottom to top of the hierarchy, including Sociology. If now I were to fill out the terms on p. 108 *Dyn. Soc.* I would say that what I mean by social "*idealics*" is the organization of that portion of *E* which is pertinent, with such a portion of *D* as will make a conception, scientifically justified, definite in form so far as it goes, of what will be qualitatively contained in *A*. Your "*telic progress*" is something which is conditioned upon the formation, at the stage, *D*, not only of correct views of the sequence of the series *E—A*, but also of correct views of the

content of all the terms, from end to end. My "idealics" is such a portion of *E* as can be interpreted as having a bearing upon *A*, organized into a conception of constituent conditions to be realized in *A*. *Dynamic Sociology* (the book) is the theory of the whole series. "Telic progress" is specifically, distinguished from the order of procession of the whole series,—*C*—according to plans of action based on the goal (idealistic) and have the means (dynamic) section of theory organized in *D*. I have sometimes been disposed to say that your chapter on "Action" Vol. II Ch. XI might be called your way of formulating the problems which I have put under the head "idealics."

I am mad with myself for having introduced the grand mix involved in my use of the term "Social statics," but if we can ever come to a common understanding about terminology I think it will be evident that there is not as much confusion as to conceptions of method & filiation of problems as now appears. What I want American Sociologists to do is to drop the fear that some of them seem to have, lest you may sometime be credited with having done something fundamental for sociological theory,—and take your outline as a rallying point in perfecting surveys of the methodological field. We are *volens volens* in the tide represented by your series *F—A*. Your *Dyn. Soc.* is the general philosophy of that series. What most sociologists are really working at is the accumulation of material and its interpretation in the term *E*. My claim is that this material must be worked over into two phases of relationship or its content must be made intelligible in two aspects. In logical order (I mean after they have been described positively, so far as possible, in their genetic and static relations, and the facts and forces to be organized into the exhibit of goal, and of policies of

action must be formed in this positive material) they are: 1st., *properties* or *potentialities* of social combination visible but not yet realized among the social elements. 2nd., *means of getting these* latent potentialities realized. There can be no "teleological progress" except upon such basis, but simply a continuation of blind staggers gravitating by laws of passive dynamics toward a goal *A* which is not definite enough to be an aim.

I hope this has not mixed the subject worse than ever. What I have said is entirely apart from the *static and dynamic*, and the *feeling & function* questions proper. As I said at the conference in New York, and in *J. of Sociol.* Sep. '95 p. 207 & 208<sup>3</sup> the thing that I am driving at under "Statical Sociology" or "Social idealics" is much more your own invention than mine, and I want if possible to get it into such shape that both of us can recognize it. *Dynamic Sociology* seems to me to take it for granted from cover to cover. Now I say let us get it placed and recognized and developed and named, so that those who incline to work on that particular part of theory can be properly utilized.

<sup>1</sup> Small refers to *Psychological Review*, Vol. 1 (July, 1894), pp. 400-408.

<sup>2</sup> The theorems are: "Happiness is the ultimate end of conation, B. Progress is the direct means to happiness . . . C. Dynamic Action is the direct means to Progress . . . D. Dynamic Opinion is the direct means to Dynamic Action . . . E. Knowledge is the direct means to Dynamic Opinion . . . F. Education is the direct means to Knowledge."

<sup>3</sup> Small here declared "The most important difference between Professor Ward's view and my own—is that I regard the discovery of the outline of an improved social order as the most important concern of the statical division of sociology, while Professor Ward has no toleration for that idea.—It is as competent for the sociologist as for the engineer to discover and organize in ideas unused possibilities of combination. This is what I meant when I said 'Sociology is the science of social ideals.'—I not only believe with Professor Ward that sociology should aim 'at the organization of happiness' but I contend

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that scientific conceptions of what the conditions of happiness would be are necessarily involved in the pursuit of this aim . . . a doctrine of the 'organization of happiness' which does not posit some relatively definite conception of social status toward which the application of the doctrine would tend essentially resembles the other exhibitions of social hysterics by agitators who want 'change' without a practical plan for a single concrete improvement."

Chicago, Ill. March 24, 1896.

If you have not yet consigned the article on *Utilitarian Economics*<sup>1</sup> to another place, what would you say to insertion of it as an entr'acte between No. 6 & 7 of your series, in the July number of the *Journal*? That would be a good time for it, and there would be less break of continuity at that point than elsewhere. Then the series could go on in Sept. &c. I should like to get something in this line from you at once, because I have found that a good many people think you have departed from your first faith, and relapsed into the feeling that all men can do is to wait for the mills of the gods to grind along at their slow pace, with no acceleration from human cooperation.

Then I would like to have you think of another thing: You know the Univ. of Chicago is in session 12 months of the year, with recesses of one week between quarters. On the average each instructor has three (3) months vacation a year, but the respite may be taken in either quarter. More men want to be away in the Summer than at any other time, so that we engage a large number of men from the institutions to give courses in the Summer Quarter. Ross is to give two courses (in my dept.) of 24 hours each (6 hr. per week for 4 weeks) beginning the middle of August. The quarter is divided into two terms of six weeks each, and a graduate course is supposed to occupy 4 lecture room hours per week. We made the 6 hr. per week

arrangement to let Ross out in time to begin his Stanford work promptly. Professors are paid \$400.00 for that amount of service.

My query is whether you could and would do a similar service in the Summer of '97 from the middle of August, four weeks, two courses a day six days in the week: say, (1) *Sociological Methodology*, (2) *Theory of Dynamic Sociology*. We get in the Summer quarter some of the maturest students of the year. They are teachers in High Schools & Colleges, Ministers, &c. I had professors from five State Universities in one class a year ago. The courses which I would like to have you give would be for graduates only, and I would be glad to have them as far as possible *colloquia*, i.e. based so largely on your publications that the classes c'd be held accountable for getting posted on your ideas, as you should make assignments, and then affording a chance for them to wrestle with you at will. This is largely the method which I adopt with graduates, in courses intended to be for instruction rather than research. Formal or informal lectures are sprinkled in according to the judgment of the teacher, and an examination on the material of the course is set rather to call for an organization of the whole by the classes than to test the memory. This exam. could be conducted after the close of the four weeks and the papers forwarded to you for enough inspection for a verdict of "passed" or "not passed"; i.e., whether the quality of work entitles the student to credit for so much time well spent. I hope you can make such an arrangement.

<sup>1</sup> The article, based on remarks at the American Economic Association, December 30, 1895, and originally written for the *Annals* finally appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 3 (January, 1898), pp. 520-536. For a history of the article see Ward's *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. 6, pp. 38-40.

Chicago, Ill. *March 30, 1896*

I've written to mention "telics" this morning. I think well of it. Quite likely it is what I am after in "idealics" and may supplant that proposition. I have long used "telic" in place of "teleological" for obvious reasons, and I do not see why the noun is not a good one.

Chicago, Ill. *March 31, 1896*

As to the *article*, I can of course say nothing further. I shall be *glad* to see it in the *Annals*.

My suggestion of interrupting the series, was not because I wanted less of your work, but in order to be sure of more. I felt secure of the series, but thought I might smuggle in another paper before the series ended. Your articles have been the backbone of the *Journal* so far, and I want everything from you that I can get.

I will write you later on the date of settling the affair of the teaching. Your self-depreciation in connection with pedagogy reminds me of the boy's answer to his father, who had protested his unfitness to move West and enter politics. "Oh! never mind the qualifications, father! Mighty poor stuff gets into politics out here!" I'll risk your standing in the company you will find, and that without applying the epithet "poor stuff" to the others.

Chicago, Ill. *April 29, 1896.*

Your note with Ms. for next paper at hand.

I am perplexed by your reference to my personal relations with Giddings. So far as I know they are perfectly pleasant. I have always regarded him as a man of so good stuff that even on the basis of my distant acquaintance I could criticise him frankly. I think he has an entirely false calculation of his bearings in sociological

method, just as he thinks I have. I told him so in my note of congratulation on the appearance of his book, and he replied apparently in the same cordial spirit in which my note was composed. I told Butler of the *Educational Review* that I would prefer not to accept his invitation to review the *Principles of Sociology* in that journal, because my views of method are at radical issue with those of Giddings, and it might not be well or decorous either for me or for the *Review* for my criticisms to appear in a publication of Columbia College.

I take it that Giddings, like the rest of us, is after the truth, not after the credit of being right whether he is or not. I certainly look to him for a lot of good work in the future, after he shakes himself clear of his uncertainty which of the two methods to adopt which are at war with each other in his book. I take it he is the kind of man who is willing to give and take in the way of criticism without making differences of opinion a matter of personal grievance. I do not propose to review the book until I have had time to give it second, third and fourth thought. I shall then review it without fear or favor, but I shall in any event say nothing which any gentleman could legitimately take exception to, if said in personal face to face discussion.

At Prof. Butler's request for names of competent persons to review Giddings, I named Ross, Powell & Moses, with decided preference for the first. He (Butler) afterward wrote me that he had followed my suggestion. For all I know Ross would take a position utterly opposed to mine. At all events what he will think on the salient points of Giddings' method will be well worth consideration by everybody.

I think there must be some misunderstanding about the subject that furnished

my text above. I know of nothing which should give reason to any personal feeling between us. If Giddings were my dear friend *Ely* I should expect him to require handling with cotton lined gloves, but I take him to be made of sterner stuff.

Chicago, Ill. April 29, 1896.

It would be a favor to me if you should see fit to send to Giddings the enclosed letter. I am astonished beyond measure by his postscript. It is quite possible that I did not use the formula "thank you," but if I had written a "nasty" letter the reply annexed would hardly have been returned. The letter to which the enclosed is an answer is the only one which I have written him since the book appeared. I can think of several possible explanations of the version which Giddings has seen fit to give you. They may all be wrong. I hope these documents will at least show you that while I may be in error I have not violated any law of courtesy that a thoroughly sound mind would ever appeal to. P.S. Probably Giddings' idea that I intend to roast him came from Butler, but I hardly believe Butler would have sent enclosed note if he had so understood my spirit. If candid and explicit criticism, instead of meaningless taffy, is a "roast," then Giddings' anticipation is correct.

ENCLOSURE:

Prof. Ward has been reading me a vigorous fatherly lecture on the text of your assertion that I am preparing to "roast" you. I at once jumped at the conclusion that this is a version of my correspondence with Prof. Butler. It would seem to me most unfortunate if the sociologists in this country should get into any sort of a personal tangle while trying to stimulate each other to push ahead as fast as possible in "possessing the land." I should be both personally and professionally as un-

willing as anybody to be the occasion of any departure from a spirit of the utmost good nature in carrying on the debates that are ahead. I do not know whether you saw my notes to Prof. Butler. If not I wish you would ask him to show them to you. I should be surprised if you found in them any of the spirit which belongs with the term "roast." My hesitation about reviewing your book for him meant simply that I should feel the same difference between expressing my mind in plain english there (*Educational Review*) and in a journal published elsewhere, that I should between striking out from the shoulder in your own house and in a debate with you in a public hall. I felt that in accepting the hospitalities of a publication edited by one of your colleagues I should be bound in courtesy to submit to conventional restraints which would limit my freedom of criticism. Whatever I shall say will be on grounds which are purely methodological, and I cannot see why there should be any thought of personality connected with the discussion. I may be entirely wrong and you may be wholly right. I believe however that you are working (1) under false calculation of the relation of scientific problems (or perhaps I should say *research*) to pedagogical programs, (2) with a false conception of the relation of "social sciences" to "sociology," (3) with a faulty application of your very clear and strong abstract statements of method, (4) in frequent use of the same procedure for which you blame others. Otherwise expressed, and more briefly, I think your method is essentially speculative, although I would ask for no clearer accounts than you give of the logic of induction. Whether you are right or wrong, or in whatever measure you are right or wrong, honest and frank discussion is certainly to be desired, and I take it for granted you are as good natured as you

are courageous in standing for your own positions, which means that you will give credit for perfect good nature to those who differ with you. If I say anything in public or private which could properly bar the most friendly intercourse between us, it will be unintentional and I should be anxious to attest my real intentions by every possible apology. If I should say anything which could be construed as disrespectful to you either as a man or as a thinker, it would misrepresent my real intention and feeling. I do not believe any scholar or his science gains by attempting to pull another down. Whenever I have a chance to advise either students or laymen, I always urge them to be on the watch for anything you write as something which they can't afford to miss. At the same time I am free to point out that the day for last words in sociology has not yet arrived and that for a long time to come whatever anyone says within that field is pretty sure to be partial and crude at best compared with the complete solutions which we want. I feel a personal indebtedness for the work which your book represents. It will certainly hasten solution of both the formal and practical problems. I shall make this acknowledgement the primary statement when I review the book. I shall then in perfect frankness commit myself to counter-theses as indicated above. If you think it worth while I should be glad to send you proofs of my review, which will not probably appear until September. At all events I hope that our differences of opinion may not lead to any personal unpleasantness for which I have neither motive nor occasion.<sup>1</sup>

This is a copy of a letter which I have sent to G. I am much pleased with your intermediary message and hope it will make things right. I intend to say my say whether or no, but would much prefer that

give and take be allowed in "sportsman-like spirit." I added a codicil promising him the freedom of the *Journal* to answer me back in any way he sees fit.

<sup>1</sup> Giddings answer to this letter, a copy of which he sent to Ward read:

"I was very glad to read your letter of May 5, for it showed me that I had misunderstood your letter of March 9th, which troubled me not a little. Your statement that 'in spite of' my 'protest' that my reconstruction of the past was inference merely, you found my assertion to be the only apparent ground of the inference, coupled as it was, with a remark about 'concealing the machinery of thought,' seemed to convey a suspicion if not a charge, that I had written insincerely. I could hardly believe that you intended to make such a charge, and therefore, dismissing the thought, I wrote to you in the spirit in which, I preferred to believe, you had written to me. When however, some days afterwards the Macmillans informed me that they were sorry to hear that Professor Small had given out that he intended to 'roast' me, I felt that perhaps my first interpretation of your letter was the right one. It was then that I alluded to the matter in a letter to Mr. Ward.

"Where the Macmillans got their information, or misinformation, I do not know. Professor Butler has never mentioned the subject to me.

"I am now, my dear Professor Small, entirely satisfied that you did not intend to impute any dishonesty to me, and that your attitude is strictly that of the scientific criticism which I welcome. I have never hesitated, as you must know, to give and take in scientific warfare, and I have never thought less of a man because he disagreed with me and broke my blade in the encounter. But it did seem a little hard that I should have toiled for years over a heavy task, only to rest under an imputation of trickery and humbug at the end. My methods may be wrong, my argument may be illogical, but I have not intentionally deceived or misrepresented.

"I shall be honored by any review of my book that you may write. Should you send me proofs in advance of its publication I shall accept the courtesy in the spirit in which I am sure it will be rendered. I ought to say, however, that I expect to sail for Europe early in July, and it is therefore possible that I should not receive the proofs in time to get them back to you before the review would go to press.

"Again thanking you for the letter which has set me right."

(Letter dated New York, May 10, 1896.)



Chicago, Ill. no date

This piece of ancient history may be of interest to you. If you should ever refer to it in print, please give credit for the discovery to Vincent not to me. [Ward notes "Name not in Roy. Soc. Cat."]

The note to Giddings which I sent you was the *original* not the copy. In copying from the Ms. which I sent you I expanded the last paragraph, all the rest running word for word as your copy reads I think. What I added was in the same line, offering him the use of proofs of my review, and the freedom of the *Journal* to do what he pleases in justification of the things that I shall criticise.

ENCLOSURE: Letter of George E. Vincent to Small dated Chicago, Ill., May 2, 1896.

You may be interested to know that Sig. L. Ferrarese in a volume published in 1828 on the Classification of the Sciences, makes this his fundamental thesis: "The science of man must be the foundation of all the sciences," and he classifies the sciences exclusively according to their modes of helpfulness to man. The three main divisions are (a) Maintenance of Health, (b) Furtherance of Perfection, (c) Prevention Degradation. For the second division he employs the term "Telestics" which comes somewhat near your proposed "Telics." [The title of the book is:]

*Saggio di una nuova classificazione della scienze* 1828. The Italian for Telestics is not given by Flint who mentions the system in his article "Classification of the Sciences," *Presbyterian Review*, July 1886, page 492.

Chicago, Ill. May 22, 1896.

I have been on the road so much lately that my correspondence is in arrears.

(1) I found your paper "The Social Forces"<sup>1</sup> in my Ms. drawer. I had sent "The Mechanics of Society" in its stead to the printer. I should have detected the change of order when the proofs arrived, but in my haste I put my hand on the wrong article. Very likely you have already received proofs of "The Mechanics of Society."<sup>2</sup> I will give "The Social Forces" to the printer today and there will thus be ample time to make all desired changes.

(2) It strikes me that *telesis* is a good find. *Telism* belongs rather to the *theory* than to the end, and its connotations are to my mind necessarily with some "Tendenz" which is exploited. I think *telic*, *telics*, *telesis*, *teleological* are distinctly applicable derivatives. It is conceivable that some one might propose a teleological philosophy or system which might be named appropriately *Telism*, but in the meanwhile I do not believe we want the word. I will get the copy from the printer for you to make the changes if it is not already set up.

(3) When I read Patten's review of Giddings, I said "Poor Patten! He doesn't know any better!" I am inclined to revile you a little for saying as much as you did in favor of the book in *Public Opinion*.<sup>3</sup> Still I am not sure that you said more than is deserved. The trouble is that all but a small fraction of readers would understand such a general commendation to mean more than you intended. The gap between the claims of the book and its results grows wider and wider the more I consider it. It is full of little flaws which unite to make it a terribly faulty affair. E.g. in the Book on *The Social Process, Law and Cause* he has never so much as mentioned you. Now I may think you have not got at anything, but for an American to attempt the interpretation of the social process without calling attention to your

proposals, seems to me to indicate something radically wrong somewhere. It seems to me that Giddings has first criticised other men for methods & principles which he then proceeds to use himself in some form or other, and on the other hand he has proposed canons of positive procedure in Book I which he incontinently disregards throughout the rest of the book. I can't see how such a combination can fail to embarrass the progress of clarification of our ideas. On the other hand, the discussion which the book must precipitate will of course end in cleared views and formulas. I think the book as a whole is dominated by the spirit of pre-Cartesian philosophy, instead of marching—as G. supposes, in the train of post-Darwinian science.

"Socialry" has an archaic sight sound & sense which will hardly get itself naturalized in modern society, and as to his division of the factors of life in society with "economics" and "socialry"—it is a classification of things that he hasn't begun to correlate in his own thinking.

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2 (July, 1896), pp. 82-95; *Outlines of Sociology*, Chap. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2 (Sept., 1896), pp. 234-254; *Outline of Sociology*, Chap. 8.

<sup>3</sup> New York, Vol. 20 (May 14, 1896), p. 630. Reprinted in Ward's *Glimpses of the Cosmos* (New York, 1917), Vol. 5, pp. 263-265.

Chicago, Ill. June 4, 1896.

I have been in Iowa since your review was sent,<sup>1</sup> and that interfered with prompt return. It has interested me intensely. While I shall follow parallel lines of criticism, I think my outline does not include any of the specific points which you take up. I think you have made all your points except those which are complimentary. I think Giddings should be credited with a good deal for his work, but just what it is I have not decided. The

case looks to me very much like that of a former friend of mine who is now practicing law. A few years ago someone asked one of our classmates what was Chase's profession. "Well," was the answer, "the lawyers call him a musician, but the musicians say he is a lawyer." You don't think Giddings has helped *research* much, but you are willing to admit that his volume will do as a text-book. On the contrary I am mighty sure it would be a vicious text-book, but it may provoke research in profitable directions by propounding so many things that nobody will accept.

On p. 9 you dipped your pen in the gall of righteous indignation, and I chuckled over it with great enjoyment. I don't believe many people will see the point, and he least of all. "Not pedantic but Pickwickian" on p. 21 is delicious.<sup>2</sup> I think you have struck the bull's eye on p. 14, "[the] gravest defect of the book [is of course] the absence of [any] scientific basis." I wonder more and more as I think over Giddings that a man can have been within call of positive science in this question & appreciate so little of its spirit & method. He can talk the language of its formal logic, but it is all external to him. You have touched him where the skin is thin on p. 18 sq. as to lack of his intimacy with Comte. I am glad you make the point on "mimophobia" pp. 29-30.<sup>3</sup> I shall add one or two illustrations which you have not mentioned.

The book makes me more anxious than ever to bring about some sort of an agreement as to division of labor in the Sociological field, so that we can see how different problems are related to each other, and can cooperate in advancing knowledge at as many backward points as possible.

<sup>1</sup> Ward sent Small a duplicate copy of the page proof of his review of Giddings' book prior to the appearance of the review.

<sup>2</sup> The comment refers to Giddings' discussion of the use of the words, statics, dynamics and kinetics.

<sup>3</sup> Ward here charges Giddings with drawing up and characterizing the stages of civilization as the military and religious, the liberal-legal, and the economic and ethical—"for no other purpose than to propose something different from what had been previously proposed."

Chicago, Ill. June 4, 1896.

How does this strike you?

I. THE PRELIMINARY PROCESS. Observation, collection of material, classification, generalization within the limits of abstracted relations.

Here the "special Social Sciences" have their place, as performing parts of the work of explanation which Sociology has to coordinate and generalize.

II. THE EXPLANATORY PROCESS. The data of Sociology are to be interrogated with reference to the general laws & practise between environment (non-sentient), individuals, and institutions (*sentient environment*). This explanation is concerned with two groups of laws, viz:—

(a) Laws of order: Statics.

(b) Laws of progress: Dynamics.

III. THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROCESS. Dealing with rational programs for control of the forces & conditions discussed in the foregoing. This process deals with:—

(a) Potential conditions not yet realized: TELICS.

(b) Available means for approaching rational aims: TECHNICS.

Chicago Ill. June 9, 1896.

Proof of No. 8 "Mechanics" just received and letter also. Will have revise of paper made after the rush of getting out the July *Journal* is over. No. 7 is all right and you will receive proof soon. I will read 8 as soon as I can get to it—indeed I have glanced it through already and it strikes me that you "get there." I shall

want to give it careful attention when it is revised. I will comment further on the classification & terminology. We are evidently getting nearer together on the *thing*, and the application of names is simply a matter of a little more time.

By all means let us have the *dream*. Of such is human *telesis*, and the more of it we get in the way of realization the better.

Chicago, Ill. June 15, 1896.

You are at liberty to use the quotation "to point a moral or adorn a tale." The obscure words are—*parts of their content*.

Apropos. I was discussing recently with my most advanced class—students who have been doing *graduate* work for from two to four years—your chapter on *Action* (*Dyn. Soc.* II, Ch. XI). They have had you in mind more or less ever since they have entered on the subject. One of the brightest men in the lot raised the point that in this chapter you did not seem to use terms in the same sense in which you use them in the paper, "Static & Dyn. Soc." *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Vol. X, No. 2. He cited particularly the passage (p. 383) "No progress can ever result from statical actions. If a man is hungry he *feels* an impulse to eat &c, &c." The point was that you here predicate *feeling* of a statical action here for the sake of contrasting it with a dynamic action. While you elsewhere insist that feeling is the peculiar quality of dynamic action.

I confess that the more I struggle with the doctrine the more tangled I get.—Yes, I must smile at your proposed subject & remark "Is Saul also among the prophets?" The article will be all the more interesting however.

Chicago, Ill. August 25, 1896.

I have just heard of your wish for another proof of your article. It has already

gone through the press. I have looked through your letters and find no allusion to second proof, so I infer that it was in the return proof sent directly to the Press. The foreman had never received instructions to send second proof. The manager of the press was suddenly sent to the hospital where he was the first man in 200 to recover from the operation which he was the 200th to venture in that institution. The affairs of our Press dept. were sufficiently confused before this interruption, and you may imagine the subsequent conditions. I have today carefully compared the sheets with your last corrections, and I think they have strictly followed copy. I am sorry however that there was a failure to observe your direction about the revise. I think this paper and your "Ethical Aspects of Social Science"<sup>1</sup> clear the atmosphere wonderfully. You have some very unfortunate associations with some words—e.g. *ethical*, which make you more generally suspicious of them than seems to me necessary. I think you are too much inclined to believe in the total depravity of words of that class, which have un-

doubtedly been prostituted but which are worth reclaiming.

I will send you the two books of which *Worms* wrote if you will notice them in the Nov. No. Will also return W's letter. I have my review of Giddings in the Sept. No.<sup>2</sup> I feel as though I had only cleared the decks, without firing a gun. All that I have said is merely preliminary. I have a long catalogue of counts that I have not been able to suggest. Possibly you will say of me as I did of you—"I don't see how you can say as much in praise of the book." If so, I shall quote your reply. I want to treat Giddings and his book respectfully and to give him credit for a well meant effort, but I think he needs to see himself through a different sort of medium from that in which his estimate of himself has been magnified.

Ross is making a strong impression on the students here this summer.

<sup>1</sup> *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 6 (July, 1896), pp. 441-456. Reprinted in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. 5, pp. 270-281.

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2 (Sept., 1896), pp. 288-310.

## SOME RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS OF CHURCHES

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A CENTRAL problem in sociological research is the social institution. Most writers of textbooks and monographs have side-stepped the task of defining what is meant by a social institution. Many authors quote Sumner's definition of an institution as a concept and a structure, and let it go with that. Of course, structure itself is a concept so that this definition does not get us very far. Allport's concepts of common reciprocating

attitudes<sup>1</sup> and of institutional habits<sup>2</sup> is a useful approach, but except for a more explicit statement of these factors does not get us much beyond Cooley's treatment.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, all of the essential

<sup>1</sup> F. H. Allport. "Notes on Political Definition and Method," *Amer. Pol. Science Review*, vol. 21, No. 3, August 1927, pp. 611-618.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Allport. *Institutional Behavior*, 1933.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Cooley. *Social Organization*, 1909, pp. 313-14, 319, 322.

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elements in the definition of an institution are either explicit or implicit in Cooley's treatment. But as so often happens with Cooley's extraordinarily penetrating but elusively subtle analysis, later students missed its full significance. This seems to be true of the useful studies of Hughes<sup>4</sup> and Wheeler.<sup>5</sup>

In 1928, we attempted to attack this problem by offering "A new definition of social institutions,"<sup>6</sup> which was in reality not new in fundamental content, because the essential ideas are in Cooley, but new in expression and in restatement. The elements of novelty in this effort to reformulate the concept of the social institution were: first, to identify the outstanding component parts of the concept and define them explicitly; and second, to so formulate the definition that quantitative description, as well as qualitative description, would be possible. This latter element in our definition is the occasion for writing the present paper.

For the sake of clarity and accuracy, our definition is reproduced herewith:

1. We may say that the structure of a social institution consists in the combination of certain related type parts into a configuration possessing the properties of relative rigidity and relative persistence of form, and tending to function as a unit on a field of contemporary culture.
2. Four main type parts which combine to produce the configuration or cultural concretion known as the social institution are:

First, common reciprocating attitudes of individuals and their conventionalized behavior patterns.

Second, cultural objects of symbolic value; that is, objects charged with emotional and sentimental meaning to which human behavior has been conditioned.

Third, cultural objects possessing utilitarian value; that is material objects that satisfy creature wants.

Fourth, oral or written language symbols which preserve the descriptions and specifications of the patterns of inter-relationship among attitudes, symbolic culture traits, and utilitarian culture traits. (The code.)

Although this definition seems to have found favor with some authors, if one may judge from the fact that it has been quoted verbatim or reproduced in its essentials by Reuter and Runner,<sup>7</sup> Hiller,<sup>8</sup> Wallis and Willey,<sup>9</sup> and Folsom<sup>10</sup> it is evident that the implicit purpose of the definition, to afford opportunity for quantitative definition, was understood only by Allport and Hartmann.<sup>11</sup> Implications are not likely to be grasped when they run counter to the prevailing mode of approach. This is especially true in view of the opposition to the use of quantitative description now so much in vogue among contemporary sociologists. Nevertheless it is our intention to examine the possibilities of the quantitative approach to the study of such a configurational stimulus as a particular social institution.

The usefulness of the quantitative approach can hardly be tested when statistical studies of institutions are lacking. However, recent studies of the Protestant church supply sufficient statistical data for a preliminary and provisional test of the value of the quantitative approach to the study of such an intangible and elusive concept as that of the social institution.

We know institutions by symbolic

<sup>7</sup> E. B. Reuter and J. R. Runner. *The Family*, 1931, pp. 133-136.

<sup>8</sup> E. T. Hiller. *Principles of Sociology*, 1933, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> W. D. Wallis and M. M. Willey. *Readings in Sociology*, 1929, p. 395.

<sup>10</sup> J. K. Folsom. *Social Psychology*, 1931, p. 480.

<sup>11</sup> F. H. Allport and D. Hartman. "The Prediction of Cultural Change. A problem illustrated in the Studies by F. Stuart Chapin and A. L. Kroeber," pp. 307-352 in *Methods in Social Science*, 1931, edited by S. A. Rice.

<sup>4</sup> E. C. Hughes. *A Study of A Secular Institution: The Chicago Real Estate Board*, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> Dorothy H. Wheeler. *The Theory of Social Institutions*, 1933, Univ. of Virginia.

<sup>6</sup> F. S. Chapin. "A New Definition of Social Institutions," *Social Forces*, vol. 6, No. 3, March 1928; also *Cultural Change*, 1928, pp. 44-50.

reference and let our abstractions, e.g. the verbal symbols, "family," "church," and "state" stand for the whole. Thus the church is a concept generalized from numerous experiences; we have learned to assign a value to this concept (a value different from the concept family), and then we react to this value and not to any single sensory stimulus which is the church. We may express the same idea in a different manner by saying that our overt behavior is conditioned to verbal stimuli, and among these verbal stimuli there are some, such as the stimulus "church," that exercise a more powerful effect than others. The question that the scientist asks at this point is whether the generalization from experience embodied and expressed in the verbal symbol "church," is based upon sense experience which other equally competent observers may have, or whether it is merely vicarious experience that consists of the sounds of word symbols uttered by others and repeated often enough to create the illusion of objective reality.

An answer to this question really involves three questions; first, is the verbal stimulus "church," either in its written language form or in its oral language sound, identifiable by all who react to it as a symbol of the same thing? Second, were the original experiences from which the concept "church" was generalized, of a sensory character? And, third, are these original experiences susceptible of repetition, that is, of independent verification by equally competent observers?

It is at once evident that the answer to the first point depends in part upon linguistic habits. For example, a person who did not know German would fail to recognize the word *Kirche*, and the person who did not understand French would fail to react to the verbal stimulus *église*. Nevertheless, the social entity symbolized by these different words is essentially

similar. We say essentially similar, for there are variations in pattern between different religious denominations, and yet the functional integrity of the entity is the same, if not identical. But then for that matter the functional integrity of the entity represented by the word stimulus "chair" is the same to different persons, although all chairs are not identical. Within the limits of certain cultures it would seem, therefore, that we may accept the logical validity of the concept church as a symbol that stands for essentially the same thing when used by different persons.

The second question is whether the verbal symbols, "church," "*Kirche*," or "*église*," represent generalizations from sensory experience. Since we have elsewhere discussed this problem, we can repeat here certain relevant questions, the answer to which clarifies the problem before us.<sup>12</sup>

In all instances would not the symbols call to mind an image of an edifice of worship? If this were so, it is evident that this image originated in a visual impression or a sensory experience. Would the symbols arouse in consciousness the memory of sacred music? If so, it is evident that auditory sensations formed part of the experience. Would the symbols arouse memories of the haunting fragrance of Easter lilies? If so, it is evident that olfactory sensations were part of the experimental background. Finally, it is possible that the recollection of hard and uncomfortable wooden seats or perhaps by contrast the comfort of cushioned pews would recur. If so, tactile sensations had left their impression. But "Church" means more than these discrete experiences. It is a symbol full of emotional meaning. A quiet and dignified interior, hushed voices, organ music, the exaltation and inspiration of prayer or sermon, the singing, sentiments of awe, reverence, friendship, mutual helpfulness and aspiration are all blended into a configuration rich in meaning but by no means entirely emotional and devoid of satisfying sensory experiences. Furthermore, the experience is configurational, complex, and organized. All of these values

<sup>12</sup> F. S. Chapin. "The Observability of Social Institutions," *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 17, No. 3, Jan.-Feb. 1933, pp. 231-2.

are gathered up into the verbal symbol "Church," and when we react to this stimulus, we react to the values it represents and not merely to the sound stimulus of the spoken word "Church" or to the visual stimulus of the printed word "Church."

We may now approach the third question, whether the sensory experience which does lie back of the concept "church" is susceptible of repetition or verification by equally competent observers. Herein lies the most stringent test, for the universal applicability of natural science generalizations is their susceptibility to independent verification when the same conditions have been met. This verbal symbol "church," that we have been analysing, stands for a value to which we react, and this value itself was built up of countless sense impressions of an auditory, visual, tactile, and olfactory sort, woven into the organic fabric of our conscious memory and toned with feeling, emotions, and sentiments, into an integrated whole. To bring this concept to test we must, therefore, attempt to describe it quantitatively in three ways; first, as a whole against the field of culture upon which it functions as a unit; second, as a pattern of attributes that are identifiable as essential aspects of the unitary configuration; and third, as a system of relations among the parts of the whole. In proportion as we succeed, in the opinion of critics, in doing this, we shall have met the most rigorous test of scientific generalization. The present analysis is offered as a preliminary venture in this field of study.

The first problem of quantitative description is therefore to formulate the relations shown by research to exist between churches as independent entities, and their social environment. Attributes of any given church entity that are susceptible of quantitative description are (1) size (number of members and Sunday school enrollment), (2) chronological age

in years, (3) value of plant, (4) total annual expenditures, and (5) total church program. The significant attributes of "wholeness" of the church as a social institution are found in certain interrelationships of these factors expressed as: (A) youthful vigor, and (B) social maturity. They may be expressed thus:

(A) Youthful vigor of a church is the ratio of Sunday school enrollment to church membership. Ross W. Sanderson in an unpublished address prepared for delivery before a meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1931, included a statement of principle that caught our attention. Owing to criticisms of this statement by scientific friends he deleted the statement from the paper. We were so much impressed by it, however, that we checked it with the data of the Hallenbeck report<sup>13</sup> on Minneapolis churches and verified it. Originally, Sanderson came upon the principle in the study of some 2000 churches distributed over 16 cities including Minneapolis, made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. As he formulated it the principle is:

The ratio between Sunday school enrollment and church membership varies directly as the distance of the church from the heart of the city and inversely as the age of the church.

The explanation of this relationship we believe is found in the fact that the ratio of young to old members is an index of the youthful vigor of an institution. Taken in this sense it is apparent that the youthful vigor of a church is related to its age and location. "Old churches tend to be at the center of the city"—is one way of expressing the principle. Its significance is, however, deeper than this, since indices of the degree of social deterioration of the city environment are also related to the

<sup>13</sup> W. C. Hallenbeck. *Minneapolis Churches and Their Community Problems*, 1929.

distance from the center of the city. Furthermore, the pattern of residential distribution of members is also related to the location of the church. We shall, therefore, consider these factors in relation to the index of youthful vigor, but first it is necessary to consider another attribute of wholeness of the church as an institution. We refer to

(B) The social maturity of a church. We use this term to describe what Hallenbeck called the index of combined institutional criteria. This was the aggregate weight of the church on fourteen aspects of its program, organization, and constituent group activities. On the basis of detailed information furnished by pastors on a questionnaire, each church was scored and the scores combined into a final numerical index for each church. Since these combined institutional criteria describe the richness, complexity, and unity of the institutional structure, we call this the index of social maturity.

These two attributes of "wholeness," the index of youthful vigor, and the index of social maturity, are susceptible of correlation with measures of the social environment, or, to state the same concept in the words of our definition of a social institution, these attributes of the wholeness of an institution are susceptible of correlation with measures of the field of culture. The measures of the social environment or the field of culture developed by the Institute research workers were first, an index of social deterioration, and second, an index of the compactness of the church parish. The index of social deterioration was obtained by the combined ranking of 13 geographic districts of the city of Minneapolis on rates for juvenile delinquency, infant mortality, family relief, transiency, tuberculosis, suicide, industrialization, and economic status. The compactness of the parish was measured in five degrees;

when its constituency lived 90 per cent within the district of location or within a one mile circle, the parish was called very compact; when 75 to 89 per cent lived within these districts, the parish was called compact; when 45 to 74 per cent so resided it was called medium; when 15 to 44 per cent, a scattered parish; and when less than 15 per cent lived within these districts it was called a very scattered parish.<sup>14</sup>

With these measures of the environment and of the church as an entity we may now proceed to examine the relationship disclosed by contingency coefficients.

We found that the degree of compactness of the parish of a church varied (1) directly with the rate of growth,  $C_1 = .6304$  (29); (2) directly with the index of youthful vigor,  $C_2 = .6095$  (29); and (3) inversely with the index of social maturity of the church,  $C_3 = .4592$  (124). Thus the rapidly growing churches had compact parishes. Youthful churches, which would for the most part be rapidly growing, also tended to have compact parishes. But the complexly organized and socially mature churches tended to have scattered parishes. The first two contingency coefficients are derived from only 29 of the 124 churches studied. The 29 cases were those churches having the same rate of growth in both Sunday school enrollment and in church membership. Different rates of growth in these two measures of size tend to disturb the relationship between the other significant variables. Hence the two growth factors were held constant by selecting for analysis only those churches having the same rates of growth. This effect is evident in the third contingency coefficient,  $C_3 = .4592$  for 124 churches, and  $C_4 = .4991$  for 29 churches and especially in the case of 12 churches for which the rate of growth in both factors was the

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

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same, giving  $C_5 = .7445$ ! Thus progressively increased control of the growth factors give us smaller selected groups of greater and greater homogeneity and hence closer relationship between the two variables studied may be observed. The second measure of the social environment was the index of social deterioration of the districts in which churches were located. We found that the higher the index of social deterioration the more scattered the church parish, or  $C_6 = .5795$  for 124 cases.

The foregoing relations are described in terms of analysis by contingency coefficients computed from the data of 124 Minneapolis churches. Douglass<sup>15</sup> and Sanderson,<sup>16</sup> working with a total of some 2000 churches in 16 cities have described relationships of a similar sort by using tabular analyses. On certain criteria of comparison the Minneapolis church data are sufficiently similar to those of the 15 other cities to suggest the likelihood that analysis of these more voluminous data would yield contingency coefficients similar to those found for Minneapolis.

This brief summary brings us to the second problem of quantitative description, which is to measure the inter-relations among the significant attributes of wholeness. Here we described the strength of association between pairs of attributes of wholeness without regard to environmental factors. Again contingency coefficients were used, since the data in the published report were available only in four or five fold classifications. We may summarize these results briefly. The index of youthful vigor of a church varies directly as its rate of growth,  $C_7 = .4302$  (29); inversely with its chronological age,  $C_8 = .4239$  (29); and inversely with its index of social maturity,  $C_9 = .542$

(80),  $C_{10} = .572$  (29). We may state the problem differently by stating that the index of social maturity of a church varies directly with its chronological age,  $C_{11} = .428$  (80); directly with its per capita contributions,  $C_{12} = .25$  (124), or  $C_{13} = .5151$  (25); inversely with the rate of growth,  $C_{14} = .536$  (29); and inversely with its index of youthful vigor,  $C_{15} = .536$  (29).<sup>17</sup> These results indicate the strength of association between such attributes of wholeness as youthful vigor and others such as age and growth; and between social maturity and age, growth, and per capita contributions.

Thus far we have dealt with attributes of wholeness of the church as an entity. But since our definition of a social institution identifies four type parts—attitudes, symbolic culture traits, utilitarian culture traits, and a code—it is now interesting to attempt quantitative description of the inter-relations among these parts of the whole. Here we are obliged to leave the data of the Institute, since in its published form it is not susceptible of this type of analysis, and turn to a different sort of study of two churches not included in the surveys of the Institute. The study from which our data for this test have been derived was made by Schanck. It was of a Methodist church and a Baptist church in a small settlement fictitiously called "Elm Hollow," on the post road between Syracuse and Waupon in New York State.<sup>18</sup> Schanck and his wife lived in the com-

<sup>17</sup> In explanation of the limits of these contingency coefficients it may be noted that, since numbers 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 are based upon a four fold table, the highest contingency coefficient can not exceed .866; and numbers 1 and 2 and 6 are based upon a five fold table and hence the highest contingency coefficient can not exceed .894.

<sup>18</sup> R. L. Schanck. "A Study of a Community and Its Groups and Institutions Conceived of as Behaviors of Individuals," *Psychological Monographs*, vol. 43, No. 195, 1932.

<sup>15</sup> H. Paul Douglass. *1000 City Churches*, 1926.

<sup>16</sup> R. W. Sanderson. *The Strategy of City Church Planning*, 1932.

munity, became a part of it by joining the two churches, patronized its stores, attended its group meetings, and otherwise identified their personalities with the activities of the community. In the course of their study they conducted informal and intimate interviews with all members of both churches and gained more insight into the significant attitudes of the church members than could have been obtained by the usual paper and pencil attitude test conducted under formal conditions. Expressions of attitude were recorded after interview under few and simple categories and always in relation to a specific subject of interest to church members. Their results were published in a series of graphic tables dealing with attitudes towards card playing, the nature of baptism, the form of baptism, the nature of the Lord's supper, the ownership of church property, the theatre, etc.

To illustrate their results let us quote the table that describes the distribution of attitude towards the nature of baptism. Here three attitudes were described; first, baptism is real; second, baptism is symbolic; and third, baptism is superstitious. They found that of 51 members of the Methodist church, 58.83 per cent believed that baptism was real, 37.25 believed that it was symbolic, and 3.92 per cent believed that it was superstitious. But this was the distribution of their public attitudes, those attitudes that they would give out for publication. When they were asked their real attitudes or their private attitudes not for publication, considerable shift of opinion was evident. The percentage holding that baptism was real diminished from 58.83 per cent to 41.18 per cent, that baptism was symbolic increased from 37.25 per cent to 39.22 per cent, and that baptism was superstitious increased from 3.92 per cent to 19.60 per cent. Their private attitudes were less

conservative than their public attitudes. Then a study of 38 persons who belonged to the community but were not members of the two churches was made to ascertain their public attitude towards baptism. It was found that 21.05 per cent of these believed that baptism was real, 47.37 per cent that baptism was symbolic, and 31.58 per cent that baptism was superstitious. The non-members public attitudes were less conservative even than the members private attitudes. Similar analyses were made of the attitudes, public and private, of members, and of the public attitudes of non-members towards the other elements of church life. In this study then we find described the attitudes of members towards religious symbols (baptism, the Lord's supper, etc.), their attitudes towards their code (towards card playing, theatre, etc.), and their attitudes towards utilitarian culture traits or property. Thus the interrelations among the four type-parts of the pattern of these churches as social institutions have been described in simple quantitative manner.

But there remains the problem of determining whether attitudes towards religious symbols are more or less conservative than attitudes towards the church code or towards its property. Evidently some further interpretation of Schanck's data is necessary. How can we measure the relative importance of the differences between public and private attitudes on such a variety of items? What should the standard of comparison be? The most useful norm would seem to be that of chance. For example, what would the distribution of attitudes towards baptism be if there were present no element of institutional pressure to effect conformity? If the three opinions that baptism was real, that baptism was symbolic, or that baptism was superstitious, were matters of complete indifference, what would the distribution

of opinion be? Clearly we would expect an even distribution, that is  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent of the opinions would fall in each of the three categories. If, therefore, we take this chance distribution as the base from which to measure differences, we have in this device a frame of reference for comparison. Divergences of any attitude distribution from chance we would then assume to measure the strength of that attitude and thus we could compare the respective strengths of different religious attitudes. Table A compares the attitude differences in this way.

We may conclude from this table: (1) that among church members, their public religious attitudes were more conservative than their private religious attitudes in 9 out of 11 comparisons, that is, in 81 per cent of the comparisons; (2) that among non-church members their public religious attitudes were more liberal than the public religious attitudes of church members in all cases; and (3) among non-members their public religious attitudes were more liberal than the private religious attitudes of members in 7 out of 9 comparisons, that is, in 77 per cent of the comparisons.

To answer the question how much more conservative any given attitude was than any other given attitude. Table B is shown. Here we have taken the private attitudes of members on a given element of church life as 100 per cent and expressed their public attitude as ratio to this and multiplied the quotient by 100. This converts the attitude differences from chance of Table A, into indices to facilitate comparisons.

We conclude from this table that: (1) the private religious attitudes of members were more liberal than their public attitudes on the same subject but more conservative than the public religious attitudes of non-members in 6 of 7 comparisons, that is in 85 per cent of the com-

parisons; (2) the public religious attitudes of members toward religious symbols (the form of baptism, the nature of baptism, and the nature of the Lord's supper) were more conservative than their public attitudes toward their religious code (card playing, theatre attendance, and the minister's freedom of expression, see row #10); and (3) the public attitudes of

TABLE A  
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE DIFFERENCES

ATTITUDE TOWARD	ARITHMETIC MEANS OF PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES FROM CHANCE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES			PAGES (CHANCE)
	Members		Non-Mem- bers Publ. Att.	
	Publ. Att.	Priv. Att.		
(1) Form of baptism—Bap- tists.....	21.19	14.76	11.70	68
(2) Form of baptism—Meth- odists.....	32.80	22.79	13.81	48
(3) Nature of baptism— Baptists.....	37.09	37.09	3.48	67
(4) Nature of baptism— Methodists.....	19.50	9.15	9.35	46
(5) Nature of Lord's Supper: Baptists.....	32.85	28.30	22.93	63
Methodists.....	35.29	27.45	19.88	50
(6) Card playing: Baptists.....	22.22	27.03	7.17	70
Methodists.....	37.48	26.14	26.90	44
(7) Theatre attendance— Methodists.....	20.91	14.38	18.71	57
(8) Freedom of expression— Methodist.....	16.18	11.84	—	59
(9) Compensation of choir and janitor—Meth- odist.....	34.28	18.04	—	61

methodist members toward compensation for the choir and janitor were more conservative than any other of their public attitudes held (row #9).

In summary, we may say that we have described the church as an institution (124 Minneapolis Protestant churches) in terms of size, age, value of plant, per capita contributions, and program. Some of these

attributes, namely size and value, were originally based upon direct sensory experience and the data representing them were subject to verification by independent observers. For example, any statistician

TABLE B  
COMPARISON OF INDICES OF ATTITUDE DIFFERENCES

ATTITUDE TOWARD	INDICES OF MEANS OF PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES FROM CHANCE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES			PAGES (CHANCE)
	Members		Non-Mem- bers Publ. Att.	
	Publ. Att.	Priv. Att.		
(1) Form of baptism— Baptists.....	143 181	100 —	— 100	68
(2) Form of baptism— Methodists.....	143 237	100 —	— 100	48
(3) Nature of baptism— Baptists.....	100 1062	100 —	— 100	67
(4) Nature of baptism— Methodists.....	210	100	100	46
(5) Nature of Lord's Sup- per: Baptists.....	116 143	100 —	— 100	63
Methodists.....	128 177	100 —	— 100	50
(6) Card Playing: Baptists.....	82 309	100 —	— 100	70
Methodists.....	141	100	100	41
(7) Theatre attendance— Methodists.....	145 111	100 —	— 100	57
(8) Freedom of expression— Methodists.....	136	100	—	59
(9) Compensation of choir and janitor—Meth- odist.....	190	100	—	61
(10) Means of 1-5*.....	140	100		
Means of 6-8†.....	126	100		

\* Religious symbols.

† Religious code.

may take the Hallenbeck report and from calculations based on his table IV, pages 108 to 113, may check the accuracy of our computations of contingency coefficients.

Some of the other attributes, that is age, per capita contributions and program, were not based originally upon direct sensory experience of those who made the survey, but were logically inferred from records made by other responsible persons. Nevertheless, the careful description of these attributes of the churches was recorded in a report based upon tabulations from schedules, and these schedules were in turn the sort of record of observation that was subject to verification by other competent observers. In this case, the report carries no evidence of systematic check for reliability of recorded data on schedules (now so frequently insisted upon as an important part of the original record), but the point is that the schedules were instruments of record that would have lent themselves to such verification if it had been required by the directors of the survey.

This brings us back to the original question of this paper, whether our knowledge of such a social institution as a church is derived from sensory experience which other competent observers may have and hence is subject to verification; or whether our knowledge of the church as a social institution is purely conceptual in character. We conclude that our knowledge of the church as a social institution is part sensory experience and part conceptual imagery. Now there is nothing new in this conclusion, except perhaps the statement of it as an induction after reviewing the evidence, rather than as a dictum pronounced at the beginning of an oration. For that matter, it has often been pointed out that the physical phenomena of natural science are also known both by sensory experience and conceptual imagery. The point that we wish to clarify here is that it is only the proportions of these instruments of knowledge that differ as between natural phenomena and social phenomena,



and not that sensory experience is confined exclusively to natural science and conceptual imagery is confined exclusively to social science. Physical science differs from social science in several ways, but particularly in the facility with which its generalizations may be made from sensory experience. Social science differs from physical science in several ways, but particularly in the difficulty with which its

generalizations are drawn from sensory experience. Both fields of learning rely heavily on conceptual imagery; and at present social science uses conceptual imagery in larger proportion. This paper shows, therefore, that even such a complex entity as an institution, when defined as we have done, may be described in quantitative terms that are subject to verification by other competent-observers.

## THE CHANGING CULTURE OF THE CITY

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THE city is the center of American culture. The inhabitants of the United States in recent decades have shifted largely from farm to factory, from agrarian to industrial forms of economic support, from rural to urban modes of living. The American people have ceased to be primarily rural and have become primarily urban. Whereas twenty-eight per cent of the population resided in cities of 2,500 or more in 1880, fifty-six per cent resided in cities of 2,500 or more in 1930. If towns and villages of less than 2,500 be included, approximately seventy-five per cent of the people of the United States are urban rather than rural dwellers.

The changing culture of the city involves the changing techniques, processes, and mechanisms of urban living. Culture consists of "the whole way we live, act, think, and feel"; it is the entire sweep of life both in its individual and in its social aspects; it is the sum total of human adjustments to the natural world; it includes not only inward reactions to nature but also outward "devices to improve nature." Consequently, the culture of a people, whether they be urban or rural, concerns

their modes of living, of thinking, of working.

The city—the changing city—is the medium through which modern man functions. Ways of living in the twentieth century are city ways. While the culture of the past is the product of the country, the culture of the present is the product of the city. Urban culture represents the tendencies and characteristics which most faithfully portray what the people of the city are or aspire to be.

The modern city is the result of industrialism. It differs from previous cities because of differences in economic processes. Whereas the cities of the past rested primarily upon the backs of men, the cities of the present rest primarily on the backs of machines—iron and steel substitutes for the backs of men. The vitality of ancient and medieval cities depended almost altogether upon agriculture—hand industry; the vitality of modern cities depends almost altogether upon manufacturing—machine industry.

Three stages, each of which is closely associated with transportation, characterize the evolution of the city, particu-

larly the American city. These stages concern waterways, railways, highways.

Waterways originally fixed urban settlements. These settlements hacked, chopped, slashed their way into existence along water courses—at mouths of rivers, at heads of bays or gulfs, at river junctions, at fall-lines and at other strategic points; they became foci of local self-sufficing economies; they depended wholly upon water to secure contacts with each other and with the outside world. The city begins!

Railways succeeded waterways. Cities ceased to be detached centers of independent local areas; they rapidly developed into interdependent nuclei in national economy; they began to cooperate as well as to compete, to engage in mutual exchange of products, to race for common markets; to boom as gateways to subregions of culture. The city expands!

Finally highways were added to railways and waterways. The motor vehicle appeared; it filled in gaps in the transportation net; it tied up each city directly with its hinterland; it quickened movements of population to suburbs; it made more distant satellites thrive; it supplied the speed necessary to perfect the roaring metropolis. The city—the super-city—reigns supreme!

The city is limited by two principal factors. These factors are site and situation. Situation means geographic location in general. Site means topographic location in particular. The situation of a city may be favorable due to cross roads of travel, to altitude, to climate, to proximity to natural resources, to central location with respect to political boundaries, and to many other elements. The site of a city may be favorable due to the relief of the land on which it stands: to estuaries—Philadelphia and Hamburg; to meeting of land and water traffic—New

York, Seattle, and Chicago; to confluence of rivers—Pittsburg; to soil—the original city of London; to presence of hill, valley or plain—Quebec, Mexico City, and Cleveland.

The site of a city may be so advantageous that the disadvantages of its situation may be overcome and its situation may be so advantageous that the disadvantages of its site may be overcome. The original advantages of both site and situation may disappear, and a city may still prosper. This is true of New York, particularly with respect to its site. Originally, it had a site second to none; now it struggles with this site by building subways and skyscrapers. Los Angeles originally had a site superior; but it found its natural water belt depleted by artesian wells and, when salt water from the sea began to creep in, it tapped the Owens River 250 miles away; then still finding its water supply inadequate for a prospective city of more than 2,000,000 souls, it voted a \$200,000,000 bond issue with its sister cities in the Metropolitan Water District to connect with the reservoir of Boulder Dam.

Cities tend to rise and fall in response to historical movements. There are periods in history favorable to urban economy and periods unfavorable. Cities in the past have been built almost over night by Asiatic conquerors but in the present they do not arise in this way. In some lands few or no cities at all appear. Due to lack of the right kind of civilization the Indians as well as divers other peoples never had any cities at all, either large or small. Wars tear down cities; peace builds them up. The conquest of Asia Minor by the Ottoman Turks at the close of the Middle Ages plus the discovery of new trade routes to the Orient made some European cities and killed off others. The decline of the medieval sea power of Venice and Genoa

was due to these events. The shifting of European trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic after Columbus successfully sailed west contributed to the rise of cities in Spain, Portugal, France, and England.

Internally, every municipality possesses distinctiveness; it has personality; it is clothed with character. Just as there are no two persons alike just so there are no two municipalities alike. New York differs from Chicago. Atlanta differs from New Orleans. Portland differs from Seattle. Even San Francisco differs from Los Angeles. The individuality of a city is due, not to its material aspects, but to the characteristics of its people, its attitudes, its ways of living, its atmosphere. Mere size is unimportant. Physical features alone are of little significance. The spirit of a place marks it off from other places.

Externally, every city, especially in America, resembles every other city. Urban development has tended to follow a single pattern. Little distinction of any kind has been achieved. As Lord Bryce concluded a half century ago, most cities in the United States outwardly are alike. To paraphrase his words, they differ from each other only in that some are constructed more of reinforced concrete than of brick and others more of brick than of reinforced concrete. In layout and architecture there is little variation from type. Almost every county-seat town has its courthouse square; almost every small city has its white way and its midget skyscrapers; almost every medium-sized city has its imitations of Broadway or Michigan Avenue and its hotel named after some locally or nationally famous personage; even almost every large city is more or less a replica of the most modern of cities, New York. In outward form the American city is standardized. When a traveler sees one he has seen all.

Cities play various rôles in the processes

of civilization. Not all of them function in the same way. The industrial city differs from all other cities. It arises because of nearness to raw materials, to markets, to labor supply or to power. Pittsburg is an example of this type of city; it is a steel city; its location is determined largely by physiographic factors. The confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers contributed to its founding and its proximity to coal and iron contributed to its growth and prosperity. Along with other steel-producing communities, it serves American as well as the rest of the world by supplying the materials out of which the physical structure of present-day civilization is achieved. Its culture is an industrial culture—the culture of coal and iron. Its way of living, its external aspects, even its inner life are the results of its industrial activities. Like Pittsburg, many other cities play similar industrial rôles and develop similar industrial cultures.

Some cities are strictly commercial cities. The commercial and industrial rôles of municipalities generally predominate over all other rôles. This is the case because these rôles represent urban functions. The commercial rôle, however, is entirely different from the industrial rôle. The commercial city acts mainly as a distributing point, a market place, a center from which goods move out in every direction. Atlanta and New Orleans in the South, Chicago and Kansas City in the Middle West, Denver in the Rocky Mountains, and Portland and San Francisco on the Pacific Coast are all cities which owe their origin and growth primarily to the commercial services which they rendered to the surrounding regions. These cities arose because of commercial opportunities afforded by their locations. The addition of industrial to the commercial functions of these or any other similar cities later do

not hinder but on the contrary rapidly hasten their commercial supremacy.

Some cities are strictly capital cities. They exist simply because county, state, and national governments exist. They were not conceived either in industrial or commercial wombs nor brought forth in response to either industrial or commercial demands. They came into being as a result of political necessity. More often than not, their locations were determined not by natural but by artificial causes. Even after long years of history, many of these cities would be unable to survive or would at least cease to be as important and as prosperous as they are were the seats of governments removed to other places. This is especially true of such municipalities as Washington, The Hague, and Canberra in Australia.

Some cities play strictly intellectual or spiritual rôles. The intellectual or spiritual rôle may be exercised in various ways. To begin with, objects of art may be the principal treasures of some cities. For this reason they may attract people, attain fame and survive as urban centers. This is especially true of many cities in Europe. It is true also of a few cities in America. Moreover, religious activities may create and maintain certain cities. Cities like Rome, Mecca, and Jerusalem, occupy high places, not because they are chiefly secular cities, but because they are chiefly holy cities. Likewise, universities may give rise to cities. New Haven exists largely because of Yale University, Ann Arbor largely because of the University of Michigan, Berkeley largely because of the University of California, and Cambridge largely because of Harvard University.

The culture of a city depends upon the rôle which it plays in the economy of man. The functions which any urban community performs determines its modes of conduct, its architecture, its churches, its schools,

its social attitudes, its emotions, its aspirations. Each municipality has its cultural pattern fixed by forces over which it has little or no control; its entire range of life, whether industrial or commercial, whether political or intellectual, whether artistic or spiritual, is colored by the particular place which it occupies in the civilization of which it is a part.

The size of a city has little to do with its culture. The people of most American cities have worshipped bigness. In more than one municipality slogans looking toward increased numbers have been adopted, have been blazoned on billboards, and have been made the objects of chamber of commerce campaigns. But such slogans by themselves have resulted in little progress. Every city has a reason for its being; it grows and achieves whatever place it has because of favorable factors, either natural or man-made. Indiscriminate bidding for factories, institutions or other attractions, will not make a place prosper. If there are no other elements favoring new undertakings mere subsidies will not suffice; they may attract but will not keep new industries or new institutions.

The city provides conditions—changing conditions—under which man secures his food, clothes, and shelter. Business—modern business—is located at points of urban concentration. Originally business meant being busy manually for a livelihood—busy in a rural atmosphere. Today business means being busy mechanically for a livelihood—busy in an urban atmosphere. In the beginning it was decreed that "by the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread." But this decree is no longer in force; it has been repealed by the inventor, the engineer, the scientist. It was issued to peoples near the soil, not to peoples far removed from the soil.

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city does not have to take what the earth has to offer. He is not so dependent upon the natural world. While those who live on the farm are compelled to adjust their operations to climate and other environmental factors, those who live in the city are able to create environmental settings more or less at will. They have acquired the capacity to overcome the disadvantages of physical circumstances. They have tended to control rather than to be controlled by natural forces. While they have lost sight of the soil they have perfected devices to reach to the soil and to secure thereby their means of subsistence.

The city affords not only a method of securing a livelihood but also a manner of living. Originally man lived, moved, and had his entire being in the midst of the family. Every activity was of the family, by the family, and for the family. Home and business were combined into one unit. But the rise of industrialism disrupted this arrangement; it ushered in the city. Home life and business life were split up into two units; the home was located at one place and business at another. Family relationships were completely severed from economic relationships. As a consequence, man achieved a new way of life, a new form of being, a new manner of functioning.

The city represents a way of thinking. The outlook of urban man is entirely different from the outlook of rural man. Everything the urban resident does, feels, or thinks is influenced by the conditions under which he lives. He is forced to interpret the world in which he finds himself in terms of agencies unknown to earlier man—by electric light rather than by sunlight, by the din of machinery rather than by the dawn of a new day, by articles of incorporation rather than by acres, by skyscrapers rather than by blue skies, by leisure rather than by labor, by electric

power rather than by man power. He is compelled to restate his philosophy of life, to revise his beliefs, to reformulate his theories, to adjust himself to a highly dynamic system of group living.

The cultural achievements of the city differ materially from the cultural achievements of the village. Some years ago I was driving with some friends out from a sleepy little southern town. This town was the shabbiest and most backward place I have ever seen. There were no paved sidewalks; the streets were filthy; and many of the houses were unpainted and looked as if they had not been repaired since the Civil War. There were two or three grocery stores, a hole in the wall for a restaurant, a furniture store with a hodge-podge display in the front windows, a fly-specked drug store, a small bank, and a Ford garage. As I looked back at this dilapidated little village, I saw a great many buzzards flying over the place. I asked: "Why are there so many buzzards flying over that town?" One of my companions replied: "That's easy: it is a dead town." This little village buried in the pine forests of the South was dead because it lacked location, economic resources, intelligent people. Its culture was neither agrarian nor industrial; it was neither rural nor urban; it was a hybrid culture, a culture of the lowest order, a culture resulting inevitably from the competition of the metropolitan center, on the one hand, and from the absence of the strength of character possessed by those who live near the earth, on the other. The plight of this village is no different possibly from that of hundreds of other villages scattered throughout America.

Every city is the center of a cultural universe. London is the center of the British Empire; New York is the center of the United States; Atlanta is the center of the Southeast, and so on. Around each

of these cities revolve satellite cities, galaxies of communities, social universes. Rural localities contribute to small towns and villages, small towns and villages contribute to larger towns and cities, and larger towns and cities contribute to giant cities. The center of western civilization is the giant city. Everything we call civilized today is urban. Every community, region, or nation may rotate upon its own axis but it revolves around the city.

The culture of the city is constantly undergoing changes; it is subject to continuous ebb and flow; it is dynamic rather than static. The city differs from the country. The city moves swiftly; the country moves slowly. The city is characterized by feverishness; the country is characterized by placidness. The city is a place of confusion; the country is a place of composure. The city is a fleeting product of man; the country is a lasting product of nature. The city develops by progressive processes of accretion; the country develops by alternating processes of intussusception. The city looks upon the world as a passing show; the country looks upon the world as a permanent abiding place. The city—the modern city—is new, unsettled, uncertain; the country is old, settled, certain.

The changing culture of the city is at war with the unchanging culture of the country. This war, to quote Donald Davidson, "is a war between urban civilization—which is industrial, progressive, scientific, anti-traditional and rural or provincial civilization—which is on the whole agrarian, conservative, anti-scientific and traditional." It is a war which has been in steady progress ever since the Civil War. On every front, urban civilization has won. Today the war is over; the city triumphant dominates

America as well as the rest of the western world.

But the triumph of the city, many observers assert, may not be of long duration. Western civilization, declares Oswald Spengler, exhibits "the victory of the city over the country whereby it freed itself from the grip of the ground but to its own ultimate ruin." Spengler further declares that "long, long ago the country bore the country town and nourished it with its best blood. Now the giant city sucks the country dry insatiably and incessantly demanding and devouring fresh streams of men until it wearies and dies in the midst of an almost uninhabited waste of country." If Spengler is correct, the city is destined to decline, to pass away, to face extinction.

The city, today as never before in its history, is afflicted with the high costs of its own growth. The rise of the metropolis has necessitated enormous expenditures. Municipal water supply, streets, sewage disposal, traffic, playgrounds, school systems, government machinery, and a multitude of other things grow out of urban concentration. To build a city and to operate it effectively requires huge sums of money, bonded debts, high taxes. To carry these financial burdens demands continuous deflections of wealth from the regular channels of business. How long the present economic system can continue to supply surplus wealth to maintain urban activities no one knows. Likewise, how long the payment of back taxes and the repayment of bonds can be postponed no one knows. It looks as if the day of final settlement is rapidly approaching. Bankrupt or semi-bankrupt municipalities everywhere are not altogether the immediate results of depression.

Economic disruptions, such as we have had during the past four years, always

wrench urban economy more severely than agrarian economy. Aside from their effects upon the commercial aspects of agriculture—which, of course, are disastrous enough but which would not be disastrous at all were not agriculture commercialized—these disruptions except in cases of crop failure, hardly touch rural life at all. The people on the farm usually have about as much to eat, to wear, and to keep them warm in hard as in good times. This is not true of the masses of the city. The incidence of economic collapse always falls more heavily upon them than upon their compatriots in the country. Any breakdown of industrialism strikes urban residents first. A characteristic of every city, especially every large city, is economic insecurity.

But in spite of its economic instability and its uncertain status, the city will continue to thrive, to advance, to extend its influence. It will undoubtedly undergo changes in the future as it has in the past but it will survive, vigorously survive. Man with the aid of science is beginning to understand the metropolis; he is subjecting it to critical examination; he is in the process of devising ways and means to preserve its best and eliminate its worst features. The time may not be far distant when the city will take on more of the enduring characteristics of the country and the country take on more of the enduring characteristics of the city. The possibility of striking a balance between the arts of agriculture and the arts of industrialism is not entirely a dream of the theorists.

The metropolis is "more than an aggregation of people"; it is more than skylines, masses of masonry and man-made mechanisms. The metropolis provides us with political, ecclesiastical, economic, and social institutions which assists us in

achieving higher cultural levels. It supplies us with necessities, comforts, and luxuries undreamed of by our forefathers—with more effective systems of sanitation; with wider varieties of food-stuffs; with better care of the sick; with newspapers, magazines, books, new songs, new amusements, fashions, manners; with opportunity for specialization in the arts and the sciences; with museums, art institutes, research foundations, libraries, colleges and universities. The metropolis, in function as well as in name, is "a true mother-city, mother of wealth and culture, generously bestowed upon substantially all her children."

These benefits modern man cannot afford to forego. The city may be in a low state of economic and moral health but its inhabitants believe in its destiny, are diagnosing its ills and are administering prescriptions which will undoubtedly effect its continuous improvement. The shifting of manufacturing from the metropolis to suburbs, to districts beyond, and even to rural localities is a development which is destined to benefit greatly both country and city. The movement of urban population today is from central cities of metropolitan areas toward the peripheries. This movement is taking place because residents in central cities desire to escape the rigors of thickly settled interior neighborhoods, because small diversified industries are arising in small rural or semi-rural districts, and because large-scale industrial enterprises are exhibiting a tendency to fabricate parts in small factories located at will and then to assemble the finished product in large plants near the centers of population.

The companionship of agriculture and industry is not sheer fantasy. Kingsport, Tennessee, is a notable example of a small city that has succeeded in uniting farm and

factory. Two decades ago it was an open field; today it is a thriving industrial-agricultural city linked up directly with its surrounding region. It arose as a result of conscious effort to merge agrarian and manufacturing interests. Within its limits or extending beyond are many industrial plants varying greatly in kind and character and employing laborers from adjacent farms. The resident of Kingsport virtually stands with one foot on the farm and one foot in the factory. The result is that city and country are one, and both industry and agriculture tend to be balanced, stabilized, unified. Consequently, this city seems not only to have weathered recent economic storms more effectively than other cities of the same size but also to have become one of the most stable rural-urban centers of the South, if not of the nation.

Lyons, France is a notable example of a large city that has entered into a workable rural-urban partnership. This city is almost the same size as that of Milwaukee. It is the center of the French silk and rayon industry. The mills are small and are located in the suburbs. The workers own their own homes, possess sufficient land to grow their own vegetables, and live near the soil. When jobs are scarce they simply remain at home, produce more food, and carefully use savings accumulated from industrial employment. Like Kingsport, Lyons appears to have successfully survived the turmoils of depression. Very few of its citizens have had to resort to the dole. President M. Morel-Journel of the Lyons Chamber of Commerce was recently quoted as saying that "in America you have thickly populated centers but France is rural and her city populations are not important. Our country dwellers can support themselves to a remarkable degree." France has apparently achieved a high degree of equilibrium between the

rural elements in its civilization on the one hand and the urban elements on the other.

The entire experiment in the Tennessee River Basin is largely an experiment looking toward more harmonious adjustments of country to city and of city to country. It is an attempt in a broad way to improve the relationships of man to his physical environment. The problem to be solved is not only a matter of power, flood control, forestry and navigation in particular but also a matter of developing "the region so that the maximum social benefit shall accrue to the people" in general. If the experiment demonstrates that decentralized manufacturing, diversified farming, unification of industrial and agrarian interests and increased intra-regional self-sufficiency may be made to function in one region, the experience which it provides may make it possible to extend the results achieved to other regions and to the nation as a whole—perhaps ultimately to extend the results to the closing of the gap completely between the city and the country.

The establishment of subsistence homesteads may materially help to stabilize the city. Under the National Industrial Recovery Act a sizable sum was granted to the President "for making loans for and otherwise aiding in the purchase" of these homesteads. Several of these projects have already been authorized in various sections of the United States. If the projects are successfully carried out, they may be the means of greatly strengthening the foundations of the city.

Subsistence homesteads are addressed to two classes of people: marginal and sub-marginal farmers who live at or below subsistence levels, and unemployed industrial workers in the city. Both are largely products of the metropolitanization of national economy. These classes are to be settled in model communities "on plots ranging from five to forty acres where they



will grow crops for table consumption only and revive the ancient handicrafts of spinning, weaving, wool working, pottery making" and other pursuits. These handicrafts, together with employment in factories already existent or to be established, in forests and in other types of commercial occupations, will afford the residents of these communities the cash necessary to cover taxes and to pay for homesteads, equipment, house furnishings, clothes, and other types of necessary commodities. Subsistence homesteads, therefore, may enable the city to join hands with the country and to bring about a realignment in our national economic structure relieving the congestion of the city on the one hand and reducing the poverty of the country on the other.

Of course, the creation of subsistence homesteads is faced with difficulties innumerable. There are already, so we are told by the experts, too many farmers, and to transfer city dwellers to rural settlements would further complicate the agricultural problem, increase agricultural surpluses, and otherwise retard rather than advance agricultural recovery. These dire results may occur. Obstacles legion may stand in the way of the application of the plan. I am not directly concerned with the workability or non-workability of the plan any way. I merely introduce it as one of the many measures looking toward the stabilization of the city and toward the better adjustment of farm and factory peoples to physical as well as social and economic environment. While subsistence homesteads may hopelessly fail from the very beginning, unless heavily subsidized by public funds both on the agrarian side as well as on the industrial side, they represent at least one of many types of projects consciously planned to consolidate country and city and to perpetuate modern cultural achievements.

America has entered an era of city regionalism in which planning—regional planning—is indispensable. There are ninety-three cities in the United States with 100,000 or more inhabitants. Each of these cities is the center of a metropolitan community. The United States has ceased to be a nation of political states and has become a nation of regions and sub-regions—regions such as the Southeast, the Southwest, the Far West, the Middle West, the Northeast and so on, and sub-regions such as metropolitan districts, spheres of metropolitan influence, areas of metropolitan culture. The various sub-regions have become distinct—the only distinct—social and cultural as well as economic units in our national economy. Regional planning is directly concerned with these units. When fully applied it will provide for the continuous improvement of each unit as well as for the continuous improvement of the whole of which each unit is a part.

Since we are a nation of metropolises we are beginning to think, not in terms of political entities, but in terms of city regions—areas extending over wide territories. City planning is no longer confined to streets, zones, and ordinances; it extends to geographic spheres far beyond city limits; it includes regional planning—even national planning. This means that many minds are playing on urban problems and that urban policies are being formulated, not on the basis of current changes and political boundaries, but on the basis of permanent developments and economic and cultural boundaries. The metropolis is being envisaged as a continuing structure; it is being looked upon as a permanent habitat of man—outlasting a single generation, outgrowing disturbing adolescent ills, extending on into the centuries.

## THE BALANCE OF SOCIAL FORCES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT

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THE failure of the 74th Congress to pass an amendatory pure food and drug bill was a major omission of the session. With the merits of the particular legislation proposed we are not concerned. Remedial legislation is essential now but this need for statutory reform must not distract attention from the great influence of social and economic forces lying beyond the legal realm.

Our purpose here is to analyze the proper conditions for free administrative action in terms of the social, economic, and political forces that make this possible. If a regulatory bureau is to execute the law in the public interest, those forces impinging upon the bureau from without must tend to counter-balance one another. It is only in an environment of this sort that the civil servant can freely perform his official duties.

The experience of the officials enforcing the federal pure food and drug act for nearly three decades shows the effect of "environmental" conditions in changing the very character and purpose of a statute. This becomes clear if the execution of the law is reviewed in relation of the social forces and economic influences touching the administrators themselves. The Food and Drug Administration must be considered in its context.

The situation can be clarified if this federal agency is viewed objectively against the economic, legal, political, and technical forces that touch the bureau in its day to day operations. What is the bureaucratic environment within which these government officials carry on their work?

In the Food and Drug Administration we find a personnel of about 500 scientists and specialists: chemists, bacteriologists, physicians, veterinarians, entomologists, plant pathologists, microscopists, pharmacologists, and the like. About half of this force man the executive supervisory offices and technical control laboratories in Washington. The rest are scattered over the country in the various branch stations. Sixty-one inspectors are designated to watch for infractions of the law. These officials are responsible for enforcing not only the pure food and drug law but also five other acts regulating insecticides, caustic poisons, naval stores, and importations of milk and tea. They unquestionably have plenty to do. An idea of the enormity of the task is shown by the fact that the total value of the year's output of canned goods alone amounted to about \$745,000,000 in 1932 while drug products exceeded \$400,000,000. With an appropriation of about one and a quarter million dollars a small corps of officials are charged with regulating a vast number of products in a great variety of industries.

These bureaucratic specialists confront a highly specialized "public" composed of the manufacturers, the producers, the shippers, and the distributors engaged in the colossal work of supplying the nation with nourishment through the arteries of interstate commerce. Officials come into daily contact with dairymen, patent medicine men, canners, fruit growers and shippers, retail grocers and wholesalers. The variety of interests is kaleidoscopic and their number is legion.

Under the best of conditions one cannot

expect very much when three score inspectors are given the job of watching the interstate commerce in foods and drugs for over a hundred million people. The task is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that those subject to regulation are prone to take an active interest in the administration of the law while those for whose protection the law was passed are apt to remain indifferent.

The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 was sponsored by wide public demand and passed upon a wave of popular enthusiasm. Such regulatory legislation directly touching many industries great and small can only be enacted when the clamor of an aroused people silence the protests of special interests. The passage of the law marked the successful culmination of a campaign of intensive agitation to demonstrate the great need for federal control of the interstate commerce in foods and drugs. Dr. Harvey Wiley as chief of the Bureau of Chemistry had awakened people to the dangers of certain preservatives commonly used in prepared foods by his experiments upon the "Poison Squad." This group of volunteers during 1902-1906 agreed to follow a prescribed diet of adulterated foods so that the resultant ill effects could be studied and given publicity. The muckrakers likewise exposed the current abuses in the food and drug industry and identified those congressmen who for selfish reasons opposed remedial legislation. Attempts had been vainly made for many years to secure a federal law but it was not until the public was fully aroused and informed that a law was enacted.<sup>1</sup>

The conditions under which the law was to be administered proved very different from those which led to its enactment.

<sup>1</sup> See *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1930, p. 52, "Congressional Opposition to Pure Food Legislation 1879-1906" by Thomas Bailey.

Once the law was on the books popular interest flagged but the concern of the multitudinous economic and social elements coming within its jurisdiction was all the greater now that the threat of regulation had become a reality. It was these forces which dominated the milieu within which the administrators of the new law were to function.

Producers and dealers hastened to express their cordial acceptance of the principle of the act and offered their hearty support in its execution.<sup>2</sup>

The officials thought it the part of wisdom to make haste slowly recognizing their "double duty of securing justice for the manufacturer and the consumer alike."<sup>3</sup>

But how was this duty to the consumer to be ascertained? The problem was in part the purely technical one of determining what ingredients were deleterious and what products misbranded. The task here was to train a personnel of inspectors and chemists competent to ascertain the facts. But the determination of matters of fact was found to be inevitably linked with policy.

What agency was to interpret the Act. The chief of the Bureau of Chemistry, Dr. Wiley, was inclined to hold the producers to a strict account. He objected to the use of saccharin as a sweetening for canned goods, to the branding of rectified spirits as whiskey, and to calling canned sprats and other small fishes "sardines." He was criticized for "crankiness" and incurred the enmity of canners and manufacturers who did not wish bureaucratic interference with those common trade practices which were not entirely within the strict letter of the law.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report* 1907, p. 72, Department of Agriculture.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report* 1908, p. 81, Department of Agriculture.

Protests began to reach the Secretary of Agriculture soon after the Act became effective in January 1907. Accordingly in April the Board of Food and Drug Inspection was established to conduct hearings upon alleged violations and to consider all questions as to the meaning of the law. The Bureau of Chemistry was limited to performing whatever analytical work was necessary for the information of the board. But the scientific findings of Dr. Wiley's bureau with regard to the definition and legality of certain food products and preservatives were challenged by a number of important manufacturers.

They protested to the Secretary of Agriculture and they went to President Roosevelt. The new law had not been in operation a year before business interests had effected a further change in the machinery of administration. At the request of the manufacturers, the President directed the Secretary of Agriculture to select a committee of scientists from the universities to pass judgment upon the dispute "as to whether sulphur dioxide, saccharin, and benzoate of soda are harmful when used in foods, and to consider and report to the secretary of Agriculture upon the wholesomeness or deleterious character of such other foods or such articles used in foods as might be referred to them by the Secretary."<sup>4</sup>

This Referee Board of Consulting Scientific Experts advised the Secretary upon technical matters for the next eight years and proved less severe in their findings than the Bureau of Chemistry. Dr. Wiley had been of great importance in the crusade for pure food legislation; his bureau became of secondary importance in the enforcement of the law.

He resigned in March 1912 convinced that it was useless to remain as chief of a

<sup>4</sup> *The Food, Drug, and Insecticide Administration*, by Gustavus A. Weber, 1928, p. 18.

bureau which had been deprived of practically all its authority.<sup>5</sup>

These early difficulties are of significance here only as illustrations of the way in which the regulators were made to feel the political influence of the regulated. Those in positions of political importance were not willing to ignore the criticism of business men and quickly made administrative changes to placate special interests. Dr. Wiley once the accepted champion of the consumer was discredited by his administrative superiors and unfounded charges of misconduct were made against him.<sup>6</sup>

The administration of the Pure Food and Drug law from 1907 to 1930 functioned in an environment where the officials heard much from the producers and little from the consumers. It was recognized at the very beginning that if industry actively opposed the act the difficulties of enforcement would be "practically insuperable."<sup>7</sup> Every effort was made to "avoid working hardship upon any one." At the same time the officials took the view that much of the "moral effect of the law depended upon a rigorous enforcement of its provisions."<sup>8</sup> Experience soon showed that many violations of the act were the result of ignorance rather than willful intent.<sup>9</sup> Honest producers saw that it was to their own advantage that gross frauds and adulterated foods be removed from the market. The bureau encountered few serious obstacles in removing obvious abuses during its early years. There was plenty to do without insisting upon a rigid interpretation of the act.

<sup>5</sup> *History of a Crime Against the Pure Food Law*, Harvey Wiley, 1929, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report* 1907, Department of Agriculture, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> *Annual Report* 1908, Department of Agriculture, p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> *Annual Report* 1915, Department of Agriculture, p. 191.



A few years of vigorous enforcement, however, served to clean up the blatant infringements of the law. More subtle and hence more dangerous forms of adulteration and misbranding began to appear. Border-line cases were more frequent. Finer distinctions had to be drawn. The officials found that violations of the law were more likely to be those of the clever adulterator who anticipated the ordinary means of detection by so preparing his products that not infrequently the most detailed and painstaking chemical analysis combined with factory inspection was necessary before the irregularity became apparent.<sup>10</sup> Thus the task of enforcement became progressively more technical.

Moreover, the law itself was restricted in its scope. It authorized the federal authorities to seize food and drug products in interstate commerce containing putrid, filthy, or decomposed animal or vegetable matter or ingredients harmful to public health. Foods or drugs so grossly adulterated or misbranded with false or fraudulent claims as to constitute a serious imposition on the public or a demoralizing influence on legitimate trade practices were likewise to be seized. The law failed, however, to provide penalties onerous enough to serve as an effective deterrent, with the result that fines were treated by some firms as little more than a tribute levied upon illegal practices.

While officials were able to correct obvious and notorious cases by seizing and condemning the product they soon found they were placed at a disadvantage in securing convictions in the courts against the producers. This was true particularly of prosecutions for the misbranding of drugs where the government had to convince a jury that the manufacturer was guilty not only of making false claims for

his product but also of willfully trying to deceive the public. Proving that a producer had evil intentions was a difficult task and prolonged litigation.

After ten years of experience the shortcomings of the law had become so apparent that the Secretary of Agriculture in 1917 recommended amendatory legislation. His proposals were not acted upon and the matter was not pressed further. While the bureaucrats were discovering the limits upon what they could do under the law, the interests regulated were drawn together under the impact of federal regulation. Competitors saw the mutual advantage of presenting a united front to the bureaucracy.<sup>11</sup> The officials on the other hand were faced with the necessity of accommodating themselves to the restrictions upon their authority and the limitations upon their funds and personnel. The facilities of the Food and Drug Administration were not sufficient for the

<sup>10</sup> In 1917 the Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry stated in his annual report: "While the accomplishments of the Food and Drugs Act have been considerable, it must be admitted that it has its serious limitations. Especially conspicuous ones are the lack of legal standards for foods, of authority to inspect warehouses, and of any restriction whatever upon the use of many of the most virulent poisons in drugs; the limitations placed upon the term 'drug' by definition which render it difficult to control injurious cosmetics, fraudulent mechanical devices used for therapeutic purposes, as well as fraudulent remedies for obesity and leanness; the limitation of dangerous adulterants to those that are added so that the interstate shipment of a food that naturally contains a virulent poison is unrestricted. Furthermore, the law fails to take cognizance of fraudulent statements covering foods or drugs which are not in or upon the food or drug package." (Quoted in Annual Report of Chief and Food and Drug Administration, 1933, p. 1.)

"The act has been one of the influences which has helped to draw competitors together into associations like the guilds of the Middle Ages, associations shorn of the special privileges which the ancient guilds often enjoyed." (Annual reports of the Department of Agriculture, 1917, p. 211.)

<sup>10</sup> Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture, 1917, p. 212.

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complete coverage of the entire food and drug manufacturing industries.

A "project plan" of administration was accordingly adopted whereby certain products were selected and the resources of the bureau concentrated upon policing their particular foods and drugs. Instead of seeking to secure the number of inspectors sufficient to cover the great extent of territory and variety of products, this new plan for administration was adopted.

An inherent characteristic of bureaucrats is popularly supposed to be their desire to increase their powers and expand their staff and appropriations. This does not appear to be true of the officials in charge of food and drug administration. In 1917 attention was called to the limitations of the law. On other occasions officials pointed out the inadequacy of their resources and the increasing volume of commerce. But from the decade of 1920-1930 the administrators of the food and drug act quietly reconciled themselves to protecting the public as best they could with the forces at their disposal.

Interpreted from the viewpoint of self interest this policy appears as logically consistent as the more usual view that expansion is always sought by bureaucrats. The project plan added to the discretionary powers of the officials since they were free to choose whom they would proceed against. Their critics accused them of ignoring powerful offenders and going after the "little fellow." The bureaucrats, since they were unable to police all manufacturers, could always point to their necessity of choice. Harassed administrators had an ever-ready alibi if accused of laxness or ineffectiveness. Time and again the enormity of their task was contrasted with the limited statutory authority and the inadequate staff for enforcement. The assumption that bureaucratic self-interest inevitably leads to demands for greater

authority and appropriations is belied by the attitude of those enforcing the food and drug law. It was not necessarily to their advantage as bureaucrats to seek greater and greater responsibilities. They settled down to do what they could with the means at hand. They had to content themselves with their restricted powers since conditions were unfavorable to any further increase.

Experience proved that the proper enforcement of the law was not simply a matter of changing a statute or securing more inspectors. Problems were encountered that could not be solved by force. More than 18,000 regulatory actions have been instituted for violation of the act, but many cases occur where the strict letter of the law has little significance.

Limitations upon the bureaucrat are not simply the result of inadequate facilities for enforcement or restricted authority. Technical and scientific considerations effect the exercise of administrative discretion and social, economic, and political factors enter into the routine of law enforcement. The circumstances surrounding particular cases very materially limit the activity of the bureaucrat. These elements must be weighed before an understanding of bureaucratic problems is achieved.

The tendency was for the official to become more familiar with conditions within particular industries and to consider these internal problems with which manufacturers were confronted.

In the early days of pure food regulation there were few trained food or drug analysts and almost no experienced inspectors. Obviously to such inexperienced men little discretionary power could be granted.

The administration was highly centralized and scientific research played an important part. Personal contacts were not of much significance; the chemist in

the laboratory discovered violations of the law by examining samples. As precedents were built up and inspectors were trained it was possible by 1913 to reorganize the regulatory service so as to place a larger measure of responsibility upon the field force and divorce at the same time the scientific from the regulatory work.<sup>12</sup>

As far as possible all work of a regulatory character was relegated to the field and the headquarters staff in Washington took over the planning and supervising of law enforcement.

This movement was taken a step further when in 1927 the Food, Drug and Insecticide Administration was established. The prime purpose was thus to set up a law enforcement agency separated from all research work which had no regulatory significance.<sup>13</sup>

During the past twenty-five years a group of trained food and drug inspectors has developed. They are distributed widely over the country and exercise wide discretionary powers. Their work brings them daily into contact with dealers and producers. Their duty is to protect the public but they find little guidance in their daily work as to what constitutes the interests of the consumer. This environment has had its effect upon the policy of the Administration.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Annual Report of Chemist*, 1921, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Report of Food, Drug and Insecticide Administration, 1928, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> When the present Director of Regulatory Work had been in charge a year he thus explained the viewpoint of his bureau: "In enforcing the six statutes entrusted to it, the administration has attempted to adopt a constructive attitude. Observations through more than 20 years of law enforcement have demonstrated convincingly that only an insignificant proportion of the members of the industries concerned deliberately violate the law. Most of them earnestly desire to comply with all reasonable regulations, not only on ethical grounds but also because it is the part of good business. Recognizing this, the department has chosen to regard the six laws as corrective rather

The officials found that cultivating friendly relations with those they were supposed to regulate made their work of law enforcement easier and pleasanter. They decided to "educate" their public. They adopted the practice of addressing gatherings of canners, druggists, etc. Manufacturers and distributors of food products invited them to attend trade association conventions. Regulators and regulated dined and talked together. Cordiality and coöperation was made the keynote. The policy of the bureau has been to obtain "a maximum of compliance with a minimum of resistance." Officials seek to accomplish this end by stressing the service features rather than the penal clauses of the law. Of course, the result is an easier discharge of administrative duties and substantial advantages to manufacturers, shippers, and dealers. Surrounded by potentially hostile forces and poorly armed with legal power this conciliatory policy is easily understandable.<sup>15</sup>

Coöperative activity has arisen, moreover, from a necessity inherent in the very nature of the questions. The technical character of such problems has often meant that *a priori* legal rulings lacked the ultimate sanction of practicability. The public interest is not satisfied by mere punishment for wrong-doing. It calls for the solution of those specific difficulties in trade practices or manufacturing technique which serve to bring the statutory purpose to fruition. A danger lurks in the possibility that administrators, having worked with canners and manufacturing druggists in mutual accord, will tend to overemphasize this coöperative work and

than punitive, and has adopted an advisory-before-the-act attitude by offering constructive suggestions which should enable manufacturers to keep their products in compliance with the law."

<sup>15</sup> *Annual Report of Secretary of Agriculture*, 1928, p. 52.

hesitate to prosecute their erstwhile co-workers.

Our permanent public officials are not by nature crusaders. The government service is more attractive to unimaginative, conscientious, cautious men willing to do their immediate job and anxious to avoid friction.

Enforcing a law which necessarily touches upon the operations of many businesses large and small in its day-to-day administration, naturally causes protests. Business men seeking protection from bureaucratic interference go to their representatives with a tale of woe or appeal to political officials higher up. In the past on more than one occasion the secretary of Agriculture has overruled his subordinates in the Food and Drug Administration when their interpretation of the law brought strong protests from the food or drug interests.

A recent example of this was the corn sugar case. The refiners of corn products objected to the restrictions on corn sugar. The pure food officials had ordered that when corn sugar (dextrose) was used as a substitute for sugar in jams, preserves, and jellies, the manufacturer state this fact on the label. The corn sugar lobby decided to go over the heads of the bureaucrats. They tried to get a law passed tolerating the use of corn sugar without a declaration on the label. They failed. They then sought a departmental ruling from the Secretary of Agriculture. In December 1930 the Secretary of Agriculture decided that the previous policy of the pure food bureau had been too severe and that henceforth dextrose might be substituted for cane sugar without its use being mentioned. This reversal in policy not only made the consumer unwittingly eat a sugar substitute, but it made the Secretary's subordinates eat their own words.

The director of regulatory work in

charge of food and drug administration under the Secretary of Agriculture had already declared: "I am opposed, as a matter of principle, to the sale of corn sugar, either as such or as an ingredient in food, to you, to me, or to anyone else, without knowledge of what it is. That is the principle on which the whole food and drug act is constructed and around which it revolves." But he and his fellow scientists had to back down. As in Wiley's time, the strictly scientific viewpoint ran counter to the dictates of political expediency. And the political officials standing higher in the administrative organization overruled their expert subordinates.

The question was not one of right or wrong but rather of conflicting criteria. Those of the market place prevailed over those of the laboratory. Officials are loath to discuss political intervention but they admit that they must reckon with it. On more than one occasion congressmen or senators have asked sharply, why their constituents were being proceeded against by the bureau. If the reasons given are regarded as unsatisfactory, the Administration wins an opponent in Congress; and if bureaucrats are to escape criticism, unfavorable publicity, or a cut in their appropriations, they must be discreet in their relations with the legislative body. Law enforcement is always exposed to pressures from the outside both political and economic, and the character of the jurisdiction coming under the Food and Drug Administration accentuates this tendency.

In this corn-sugar case the canners, the beekeepers, spokesmen for consumers and officials of the Food and Drug Administration protested against permitting the unstated substitution of dextrose for beet or cane sugar in prepared foods. They took their case to President Hoover but to no avail. Secretary Arthur M. Hyde sup-



ported the case of the corn products refiners. *Consumers' Research* characterized this action as "the major capitulation of the Department of Agriculture to commercial influence within the past decade."

This episode emphasizes the anomalous position of the bureaucrats. Considerations of political expedience must be added to all the other restrictions that handicap their activities. As one critic has pointed out "the Department of Agriculture, since it functions both as defender of the consumer in a sense in some of its branches and as the friend of the agricultural producer and more especially of the manufacturer using the agricultural producer's raw materials, is often in the impossible position of trying to do an economic service to both producer and consumer at the same time."<sup>16</sup>

The policy of the officials has been consistently to stress that "the enforcement of the laws within the jurisdiction of the Food and Drug Administration, though primarily intended to protect consumers, also benefits producers. This is particularly true of the farmers." But unfortunately the interests of the producer can not always be so easily identified with those of the consumer. When punitive action threatens, those who fear strict regulation attempt political pressure upon officials.

The bureaucrats in the Food and Drug Administration are in a strategically weak position. Theirs is a subordinate bureau in the Department of Agriculture and hence under the control of a politician—the Secretary of Agriculture. These officials are called upon to regulate powerful industries but they are vulnerable always to attacks from special interests working through political channels. Their decisions may be overruled by their adminis-

trative superior. The possible reaction from the political and economic forces on the outside inevitably influences the work of the bureau and the viewpoint of the administrators.

During most of their administrative experience the bureaucrats have been exposed to pressure from the producers but they have heard little from the consumers.

Officials realize that if they are to strike this balance between the interest of the consumer and the producer it is desirable that they understand the viewpoint of each side. But how can the consumer interest be discovered? Just because all of us consume it does not follow that this activity can be extracted from each and then reassembled into a being known as a "consumer." It takes more than a large appetite to represent intelligently the public interest in pure food regulation. The officials have undertaken deliberate campaigns to awaken the public to their interest as consumers.

Consumer support was needed when the officials were called upon to defend their standards for foods and drugs in court. Housewives, for example, were brought in to testify that these official standards were reasonable and generally accepted among consumers. There was, however, no organized consumer opinion.

By 1930 a change had occurred. The report of that year states: "A gratifying feature of the food and drug enforcement activities during the year has been the evidence of renewed public interest in the measures taken by the Government to insure a wholesome, pure and honest foods and drugs supply, a development decidedly encouraging." A Senate investigation brought about by the agitation of a speculator alleged to have had a corner on the supply of Spanish ergot called public attention to the bureau. The propaganda of a small group of critics speaking for the

<sup>16</sup> F. J. Schlink writing in the *American Federationist* for April 1931.

consumer made articulate this neglected viewpoint. The Food and Drug Administration inaugurated a series of radio broadcasts to explain its work, established a special information service and undertook a "Read-the-label" campaign among housewives. The officials soon had increased appropriations from Congress for extending their activities. During 1931-32 the criminal prosecutions instituted by the Administration more than doubled. The quick response on the part of officials to this relatively limited protest is significant.

Bureaucrats in this country do not occupy a sphere apart. As the experience of this bureau shows, they are very amenable to environmental influences. Politically their position is weak. They dare not oppose the dominant forces surrounding them even though this may entail a compromise with their original purpose. Unprotected by a strong bureaucratic tradition they lack confidence in interpreting the public interest. The producer boldly and persistently presents his case. The consumer is represented infrequently and then by self-appointed spokesmen. It might just as well be conceded that individual consumers can not express their views and exert their influence effectively before the government. No organization of consumers has ever succeeded in doing so.

This does not mean that the Food and Drug Administration must be left to the canners and the medicine men. Unless a balance of interests between the producer and the consumer is effected, the public welfare can not be protected. Even though the individual consumer remains elusive, introducing a *consumer interest* into

the administrative context is not too difficult. The officials themselves have discovered such support in women's clubs, in home economics associations, and in similar special interest organizations. These allies lend encouragement but they do not supply the strength demanded now.

A potentially strong consumer interest lies in labor unions and in various professional associations as, for example, societies of engineers, architects, physicians, teachers, etc. Hotels, hospitals, universities, and other institutions that employ purchasing agents and buy in large quantities could marshal strong powers of persuasion singly, or through their respective national organizations. If these special interests are brought to realize their stake in the objective execution of the pure food and drug laws, the dominating influence of producers might be offset.

Unless such special interests fight for their rights as consumers, remedial legislation cannot be secured. The recent failure of the Tugwell bill emphasizes this point.<sup>17</sup> Unless these interests, in their turn, exert pressure upon the bureaucrats it will be impossible to approach that equilibrium of social forces essential to a just and objective interpretation of the public interest. The past experience of the food and drug officials has made this evident.

The first step toward reform is strengthening the statutory authority of The Food and Drug Administration. The second essential is introducing the consumer interest in the actual executive of the law.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of the struggle in the last Congress see the author's article on "Food, Drugs and Poison" in *Current History*, April, 1934.

## IS ART THE PRODUCT OF ITS AGE?

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EVER since the decline of the theory of instinct as the explanation of human behavior, the sociologist has proceeded on the principle of the interrelation, potential or actual, between the various aspects of culture. While the social scientist has, accordingly, studied the major social institutions and the more or less conspicuous items of behavior in society, one prominent human activity has remained foreign to his area of research. This is the field of the fine arts. Not since the ascendancy of the social evolutionist has serious attention been accorded them by the American social scientist, unless we except the researches of a few ethnologists and anthropologists such as Boas<sup>1</sup> and his pupils.<sup>2</sup> Consequently there has been very little cross-fertilization between the social sciences and the field of aesthetics; and as a result there still prevails a lively controversy as to the very adaptability of scientific methods to the study of the arts.<sup>3</sup>

(One version of this issue revolves around the question whether, and to what extent, art is conditioned by the epoch.)

This question would immediately elicit self-confident replies from those sufficiently interested and informed to venture an answer. (As is the case, however, in all matters which touch aesthetic issues, the answers would diverge in accordance with the principles of the respective schools of thought. There are those who assert the

independence of the art work of the vicissitudes of temporal affairs and claim for it a status beyond time and circumstance. How could one otherwise explain the enduring fame of the masters? Others, to the contrary, would contend that, since art is obviously made by man, even though in a "creative" capacity, it would necessarily reflect mundane interests. A third school would effect a compromise dividing, as well as it can, a given aesthetic product into its component parts, form and content—and the many variations of this dichotomy—and assert that while the content is conditioned by ephemeral factors, its form, if a great work of art, would be valid for all time. Finally, one may append another category of opinion: there is a relation, but the direction of flow of cause and effect is merely another version of the hen-and-egg conundrum.) "Competent" authorities would seem to be available in support of each of these positions.

## ROMANTICISM AND PHILOSOPHY

Conceptions of beauty, like those of religion and morals, usually undergo universalization on the part of their protagonists. It would seem, therefore, at the outset that if the universality of great art is admitted, it would already imply a negative answer to our query. (If intrinsic worth is accorded to a masterpiece of Homer or Bach, if Shakespeare is the poet "for all time," if Beethoven belongs to all nations, their qualities could not be dependent upon adventitious changes in the social order. Therefore, to Roger Fry, art seems as "remote from actual life as the most useless mathematical the-

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas. *Primitive Art*, Cambridge, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth L. Bunzel. *The Pueblo Potter, A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art*, New York, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Thomas Munro. *Scientific Method in Aesthetics*, New York, 1928. Luther Anderson. *Aesthetics and Determinism*, American Magazine of Art, March, 1933, p. 127.

orem."<sup>4</sup> According to Schoen, "since the art work is inherent in value it also transcends time and place. The inherent, the intrinsic has neither chronology nor geography, but belongs to all epochs and all localities."<sup>5</sup>

a. (The logical sanction for this supposed permanence of the work of art in the face of fluctuating circumstance was derived from philosophy in the form of the theory of the dualistic universe. Although usually associated with Plato and Plotinus, it flowered most abundantly, as far as our present issue is concerned, with the romantic revolt of the nineteenth century. This alliance of romanticism and Kantian metaphysics constituted in one form or another the prevailing philosophy of art almost until the opening of the present century.

Briefly expressed, according to the romanticist, the artist possessed intuitive powers to experience directly the supersensual world, while the scientist, by the aid of reason, analyzed merely the physical universe. Science was thereby relegated to an inferior order of intellectual merit while the artist, through his faculty of clairvoyance and imagination, discerned the Truth—with a capital "T". Schiller,<sup>6</sup> Shelley,<sup>7</sup> Schopenhauer,<sup>8</sup> and others promulgated this doctrine which was finally to place music, because of its abstraction and most distant resemblance to the world of the senses, at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of the arts. Art had no material function associated with the physical universe, but constituted a revelation of ulti-

mate reality. Art existed for "art's sake" and served, in fact, as a refuge from the physical frustrations of the perceptual world instead of being conditioned and formed by it. Beauty was itself the prototype rather than the imitation of physical nature.)

But the discrepant tastes, so patent to every historical observer, could not but be embarrassing to the pretensions of the universalist. While music, because of its abstract quality, was perhaps more easily accommodated to the principle, the pictorial and literary arts were somewhat more recalcitrant. "Formalism" presented a happy solution. (Taking a leaf from the book of music, which was purely the "concord of sweet sounds," artists began to repudiate realistic fidelity which had been the ideal since the days of the Greek golden age, and concentrated upon what was thought to be those permanent and common qualities of objects, namely pure form. The last vestige of physical reality was to be eliminated by declaring subject matter entirely irrelevant, and asking the observer to react to the "unity of harmony of formal relations."<sup>9</sup> This school of thought, although not restricted to the graphic arts, nevertheless today finds its most enthusiastic sponsors among critics of painting and sculpture, prominent among whom are Roger Fry,<sup>10</sup> Clive Bell,<sup>11</sup> Herbert Read,<sup>12</sup> and George H. Opdyke.<sup>13</sup> "The logical extreme of such a method," in the words of Mr. Fry, "would undoubtedly be to give up all resemblance to natural form and to create a purely abstract language of form—a visual music—and the later works of Picasso

<sup>4</sup> Roger Fry. *Vision and Design*, London, no date, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Max Schoen. *Art and Beauty*, New York, 1932, p. 127.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Schiller. *Ueber die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, especially letters, 2, 12, and 26.

<sup>7</sup> Percy B. Shelley. *Defence of Poetry*, Boston, 1891.

<sup>8</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer. *On the Metaphysics of the Beautiful and on Aesthetics*, in *Selected Essays*, Ernest Bax, ed., London, 1914.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert Read. *The Anatomy of Art*, New York, 1932, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *Art*: New York, 1913.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *Art and Nature Appreciation*, New York, 1932.



show this clearly enough. I would suggest that there is nothing ridiculous in the attempt to do this." The consumer is expected "to be moved by the pure contemplation of spatial relations of plastic volumes *independent of his experience in the exterior world*, through his aesthetic sensibilities."<sup>14</sup> It follows as a corollary that "if we consider this special spiritual activity of art, we find it no doubt open at times to influences from life, but in the main self-contained—we find the rhythmical sequences of change determined much more by its own internal forces than by external forces . . . the rhythms of life and of art are distinct, and as often as not play against each other."<sup>15</sup>

(In order that these semblances of permanent reality could be appreciated by the human being, human nature had to be endowed with a parallel duality. So the substratum of human nature, it is said, consisted of the "constant factors"<sup>16</sup> which made the whole world kin. Since "human nature never changes," "the deeper traits of mankind are themselves unaffected by rapidly altering outward conditions."<sup>17</sup> So long as a work of art speaks to these feelings, it will surmount the threatening ravages of time.)

To the accusation that such reasonings smack of a *a priori* rationalization, even the most ecstatic romanticist and the most tenacious philosophical idealist may, and does, seek refuge in the empirical evidence that ("great" art does survive the culture epoch which gave it birth. Posterity has been kind to Homer, Shakespeare, Bach, and Beethoven who are enjoyed and appreciated today in many cases even more

deeply than by their own contemporaries. They thereby demonstrate their right to the claim that they appeal to permanent values, however critics may diverge on the principles of explanation.)

To this, however, the determinist has his retort. (Although, to be sure, certain masters are still cultivated today by especially trained patrons, a more penetrating analysis of historical criticism will disclose the fluctuating renown of even the greatest geniuses. Plato's rejection of the Homeric poems is an early instance.<sup>18</sup> "Gothic" was a vulgar epithet directed at a cumbersome architecture, which was only subsequently accepted, and now once again disparaged.<sup>19</sup> The masterpieces of Greek sculpture are today suffering the same fate at the hands of an influential coterie of modernists who decry the slavish subservience of art to realistic nature, which has been the standard since the days of the Renaissance, and hail with delight the emancipation from the incubus of classic models.<sup>20</sup> Contemporary observation would indicate that Goethe, once the idol of cultured literacy, is even now passing into eclipse; for the mild and even indifferent enthusiasm of otherwise intelligent Germans on the occasion of the centenary of his death (1932) was a keen disappointment to traditionalists and academicians.<sup>21</sup> The idolatry of Beethoven is likewise waning, as critical estimates of his merits on the occasion of the centenary of his death (1927) would indicate.<sup>22</sup> Bach was forgotten for a century and then revived by Mendelssohn. Nor has Shakespeare

<sup>14</sup> Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-59.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Irving Babbitt. *On Being Creative*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 142.

<sup>17</sup> Helen H. Parkhurst. *Beauty*, New York, 1930, p. 261.

<sup>18</sup> *Republic*, Books III and X.

<sup>19</sup> Clive Bell. *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-45.

<sup>20</sup> See: Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro. *Primitive Negro Sculpture*, New York. R. H. Wilenski. *Meaning of Modern Sculpture*, New York, 1932.

<sup>21</sup> Clifton Fadiman. "What is Left of Goethe?" *Nation*, June 16, 1932.

<sup>22</sup> *Music and Letters*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, April, 1927.

enjoyed any but vacillating fame.<sup>23</sup> In fact, so fickle is public acclaim, as taken through the ages, that taste has seemed to Mr. Kellett a veritable "whirligig" on which "we can never form a positive judgment, and every sentence of the critic should be preluded with a mental 'subject to reservation'."<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, even assuming the "permanence" of a work of art, we well know that the same work is in different epochs admired for widely different qualities.<sup>25</sup> With such caution thrust upon us, it requires considerable intellectual audacity to insist that any master "has stood the test of time," or that we, in the year 1935, located as we are between two eternities, hold the final judgment on any aesthetic issue.

Although such expressions of skepticism are far from convincing to the idealist, nevertheless there has arisen an increasingly quizzical attitude toward his pretensions. Pitted against the traditional system which has been dominated by philosophers and artists, and is still so influential in contemporary aesthetic theory, are the exponents of cultural determinism.

#### THE NATURAL SCIENCE MOVEMENT

Even before romanticism and formalism had gained the peak of dominance, there occurred a revolution in thought which was destined to challenge the primacy of traditional philosophical aesthetics. The natural science movement, which had already penetrated the physical sciences since Galileo and Newton, had now overtaken biology and social philosophy, and

tended to discredit the metaphysical principles and the intuitional epistemology of romanticists and idealists as being incompatible with empirical methods.

Among the primary forces to shake the preeminent position of romanticism was the popularization of the theory of evolution which tended to divest man of his separate status and place him alongside the rest of nature, thereby undermining his claim to a "soul," his communion with ultimate reality, and kindred privileges. Thus Herbert Spencer left no place for the Kantian dogma that man could "know" ultimate reality without "understanding" it, but frankly posited the sphere of the unknowable. Instead of seeking the source of the arts in metaphysical reality, scholars now turned to more naturalistic phenomena. In the realm of art, attention was now directed to the prosaic studies of primitive art to determine its evolutionary development. Spencer himself speculated upon the origin of music in daily emotional speech;<sup>26</sup> Darwin saw aesthetic significance in the brilliant decorativeness of the male;<sup>27</sup> and Grosse, by his pioneer work in the beginnings of art, laid the basis for further investigations into the cultural factors in art phenomena.<sup>28</sup> Such scholars were not interested in the essence of Beauty. They assumed beauty as the physiologist assumes life. The artist was no longer a quasi-priest who was the interpreter of God and Nature, as set forth by Goethe;<sup>29</sup> art was no longer the incarnation of the "absolute spirit" of Hegel,<sup>30</sup> nor the "objectification of the Will" of Schopen-

<sup>23</sup> Augustus Ralli. *A History of Shakespearean Criticism*, London, 1932.

<sup>24</sup> Kellett, E. E. *The Whirligig of Taste*, New York, 1929, p. 80.

<sup>25</sup> See Frank Chambers. *Cycles of Taste*, Cambridge, 1928. I. A. Richards. *Principles of Literary Criticism*, New York, 1928, ch. XXVI.

<sup>26</sup> Herbert Spencer. *Origin and Function of Music*, in *Essays*, New York, 1910.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Darwin. *Origin of Species*, ch. IV.

<sup>28</sup> Ernest Grosse. *Beginnings of Art*, New York, 1897.

<sup>29</sup> *Zueignung*.

<sup>30</sup> *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*, Leipzig, 1842.

hauer.<sup>31</sup> Scholars of the modern stripe were intent upon analyzing the craft of man as a product of human ingenuity, in a particular biological, social, and geographic setting. That the evolutionary theories have been discarded is of no import compared to the significance of the inauguration of a new method of approach.

(The growing interest in exact, comparative historiography likewise contributed to the new point of view. History assumed a social emphasis. Paced by such culture historians as Taine who purported to demonstrate the determinate relation of "race, milieu and the moment" and who made "no attempt to do more than explain art according to natural laws" without the aid of metaphysics,<sup>32</sup> it was only natural that scholars should strive to correlate art with the particular setting in which it arose.) In this, incidentally, they were only catching up with Montesquieu who had previously applied the principle to legal institutions.

(In the meantime physical science was conspiring to deflate the status of the queen of the fine arts: Music. Far from accepting its apotheosis of Pater and Browning,<sup>33</sup> or accepting the explanation of its power and charm as due to its perfect symbolism of the Ultimate, Helmholtz,<sup>34</sup> to the great distress of contemporary aestheticians, was searching its secrets in terms of vibrations and their effect upon the physiological organism.) Similarly Fechner established his laboratory and in the 1870's published his psychological studies in which he frankly declared his intention of studying the fine arts inductively "from

below" rather than deductively "from above."

#### CULTURAL DETERMINISM

Paradoxically enough, romanticism, which had received from Kant and Hegel the philosophical sanction of timelessness, contributed, itself, to the destruction of that principle. Emancipated from acknowledged authority and the model of the ancients, the protesting groups broke up into many schools, which fact tended to discredit them all. (Each artist "copied nature" in his own manner. To Wordsworth it meant trees and mountains; to Zola, the dramatization of a slumming expedition and the "scientific" transcription of social relations; to the impressionists, Monet and Manet, unconventional subjects and color effects. Critical opinion was becoming so diverse that it was straining the principle of unity. In recent decades, with more penetrating studies, this has become all the more apparent. Locke,<sup>35</sup> tracing the romantic period in music, showed how it was conditioned by the social forces in Germany and France; Mumford<sup>36</sup> has performed an analogous task for architecture; Calverton,<sup>37</sup> using the Marxian approach, has related the literature of England and America to the class ideologies of those countries; Strzygowski<sup>38</sup> has sketched the diffusion of Christian art along the trade routes and "commercial currents which are, in turn, determined by political forces." This relativistic interpretation was similarly enunciated by Keppel and Duffus in their report for the Committee

<sup>35</sup> Arthur Locke. *Music and the Romantic Movement in France*.

<sup>36</sup> L. Mumford. *Sticks and Stones; a Study of American Architecture and Civilization*, New York, 1924.

<sup>37</sup> V. F. Calverton. *Sex-Expression in Literature*, New York, 1926, and other works.

<sup>38</sup> Josef Strzygowski. *Origin of Christian Church Art*, p. 195.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup> H. Taine. *Lectures on Art*, New York, 1889, 3rd ed.

<sup>33</sup> See *Abt Vogler*.

<sup>34</sup> H. von Helmholtz. *On the Sensations of Tone*, tr. by A. J. Ellis, 4th ed., New York, 1912.

on Social Trends, in which they frankly declare that "we cannot assign absolute values" to aesthetic theory.<sup>39</sup>

(Although the relativistic interpretation of the existence of the varied standards of taste and its corresponding art forms has earned a certain acceptance in many quarters, it is still imperfectly understood.<sup>40</sup> After professing agreement to the general principle that "architecture is the reflection and expression of the culture and life of the time," Tallmadge still betrays doubts that that is always the case. "It is curious, for instance, that the Niagara limestone should be expressive of cultures as different as 1867 and 1927. Certainly the Gothic of France, born of medieval and unreflecting ecstasy, and reared in tortuous, unlighted, and unpaved streets, was not the proper garb for urbane and humanistic Italy with her cobble stone pavements.")<sup>41</sup>

Such reservations are scattered throughout the literature on the history of art and hark back to the now outmoded folk-psychology or to the Hegelian *Zeitgeist*. At present, however, we recognize that the building of culture is a syncretic process, an accumulation of elements derived from manifold and otherwise alien sources. Just as there is no "pure" race so there is no "pure" culture. An indigenous culture<sup>42</sup> is purely hypothetical, depending upon the area in question conceived in both space and historical genesis. Diffusion is constantly occurring. How ostensibly inharmonious these elements may be is illustrated in the adoption of the

nude figure in the graphic arts from Greek classicism during the Renaissance. This trait probably never would have arisen in western culture, as it never has arisen in oriental art, nor in Eskimo graphics. Even today, the convergent streams of Puritanism and classicism render it difficult to differentiate between art and indecency.<sup>43</sup>

(Since culture is more than the overt phenomenon of social behavior, but includes beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies, the latter are frequently carried in migration more easily than bag and baggage. In fact, as often as not, art styles are introduced to new areas much like the plague—by a small number of infected carriers, as is well illustrated by the classic revival in America, which was given its impetus by the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 through the agency of a group of graduate architects recently returned from Paris where they had absorbed the teachings of the Beaux Arts.) Similarly, Thomas Jefferson, a fine scholar as well as statesman, who had lived in Paris for five years as ambassador to the French court and had witnessed the construction of the Pantheon in Paris, and had consequently been infected by the classic virus which broke out in America after his return in the form of the capitol of Virginia, built according to the classic Roman model of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, France.

To be sure, imitation is never exact, but an amalgamation of alien and provincial ingredients, which are, however, discerned only by the historically sophisticated. So America copied Greek models, even though it had to use tin and wood instead of marble; even though on the stately Corinthian pillars of the Capitol at Washington, D. C., were substituted, for the

<sup>43</sup> For the early American reactions to the nude in art, see: Suzanne LaFollette. *Art in America*, New York, 1929, pp. 68-69.

<sup>39</sup> F. P. Keppel and R. L. Duffus. *The Arts in American Life*, New York, 1933, pp. 2-3.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, the satirical article by Ernest Sutherland Bates. "American Virility and British Decadence," *Nation*, Oct. 18, 1933.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas E. Tallmadge. *The Story of Architecture*, New York, 1927, pp. 13-14.

<sup>42</sup> Architects commonly distinguish between indigenous and foreign architecture.



graceful traditional Greek acanthus leaves, the ears of indigenous Indian corn, tobacco leaves, and cotton bolls. Good Presbyterians built churches during the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the style of pagan temples; and for the model of the central portion of the Pennsylvania station in New York, the architect sought out the tepidarium of the Imperial bath at Rome.

Similar analysis may be made of other cultures, but their array of fine arts will invariably testify to the extreme commixture of cultural elements even in the most provincial primitivity. (If, therefore, by "product of the age" is meant "invented," then very few objects could be so accredited; if "reflection of the age" symbolizes its hopes, pretensions, aspirations or ideals, then the adaptation of the Greek colonnade to American circumstances is indeed a product of American life and culture.)

Confusion has arisen likewise because of the expectation that conspicuous events be reflected in prevailing art tastes. This is by no means necessarily the case. During the Napoleonic wars, the violent storms of conquest passed right over the areas where literary activities were maintained unscorched by the heat of the conflict; the battle of Jena disturbed very little the dominant reading preferences of cultured Germans.<sup>44</sup>

Dominated by the concept of *Zeitgeist*, a term which served the Hegelians so well during the nineteenth century, critics were blind to the seething cultural process here delineated, but conceived of society as a homogenous unity, pervaded by a "spirit" which expressed itself consistently in its civilization. Such a conception of the spirit of the times would, indeed, suggest an incongruity in the repetitive appearance of Niagara limestone

in diverse cultures.<sup>45</sup> More accurately speaking, however, art is not the product of the "times", nor of society. These terms are too all-embracing. It is rather the product, the creation of the respective groups of which the larger society is composed. These groups may represent any conceivable interest in age, class, wealth, erudition, or sex, each displaying its characteristic taste preferences. The children with their fairy tales, the aristocracy with its opera, museums, and literature; the masses with their jazz—the innumerable groups all create, adopt, or perpetuate their own works of art. A German aesthetician,<sup>46</sup> with a characteristic flare for neologisms, refers to these groups as *Geschmacksträgertypen* (taste-carrier-types). It is only when we break up "society" into its component parts that the cultural determination of art forms becomes apparent.

There are those, however, who see the effective solution of our problem in neither of these extremes which have, respectively, rendered an unequivocal negative and affirmative reply to our original query. (The compromise would divide the work of art into its two elements: form and content.) Admitting what cannot be denied, namely that art epochs do present different fronts, and that only through familiarity with historical allusions can many works be made intelligible to modern mentality, some nevertheless assert that this objective aspect does not constitute the essence of art. It is alleged that when one has described or examined the works of art as have Taine, Calverton, and others, one has studied merely the materials, the outward husk, of art, not art itself. (The materials, to be sure, reflect the times, but the fundamental feelings and emotions transmitted therein, to which the great artist appeals,

<sup>44</sup> L. L. Schücking. *Die Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung*, Berlin, 1931, p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> See *supra*, p. 370, of this issue.

<sup>46</sup> Schücking, *op. cit.*

and on which he relies to produce his effect, are elemental and eternal. "The ultimate values of art transcend the individual and his time and circumstance. . . . In expressing his intuition, the artist will use materials placed in his hands by the circumstances of his time."<sup>47</sup>

Closer insight will here disclose a false dichotomy of form and content, and arouse the suspicion that we have been misled by the easy analogy of the foundry. After all, only in Wonderland can the grin be separated from the Cheshire cat. To be sure, the fundamental emotions may be universal, but they cannot be communicated by telepathy; they must be made corporeal in a concrete situation. It is then found that a situation which would arouse vengeance in one culture may extract a peal of laughter in another. Succinctly put, the universality of an emotion would by no means guarantee the universality of a work of art. By the same logic, human nature is, and is not, uniform throughout mankind. As a formula of concepts, it may be "common to all mankind";<sup>48</sup> as a going concern, translated into concrete behavior as manifested in art, it is very much attached to time and space.)

Among the more recent irreconcilables to the procedure of subordinating man to the laws of nature are the new humanists. The late Professor Irving Babbitt has stated: ". . . the great revolutionary task of the nineteenth-century thinkers was to put man into nature. The great task of twentieth-century thinkers is to get him out again; . . . a beauty that is relativistic and impressionistic finally becomes meaningless."<sup>49</sup> "Students of aesthetics may

as well face the facts and recognize in determinism a theory that is hostile to art."<sup>50</sup>

However, the whirligig of taste, so fickle and capricious as it seems in the distribution of its favors, need not necessarily lead to such skepticism. Here the relativistic approach and a knowledge of elementary social science will inject meaning where aesthetic agnosticism would otherwise prevail. Tastes are not nearly so conglomerate and meaningless as the idealists would imply; for, beneath the diversities of standards there is a substructure of uniformity which itself makes social life possible and which will guarantee a certain comparable uniformity in aesthetic, moral, political, and other standards. Solipsism is not the alternative to absolutism. (The work of art, and the group in which it has its being are related as plant and soil. To be sure, the social soil of America with its indoor assemblies and inclement weather does not nourish the classic style as did ancient Hellas with its outdoor worship and salubrious climate. But the migration of culture produces incompatibilities that are no greater than those produced by the migration of races.)

The last stronghold of the idealists can also be captured. (The formalistic types of art, such as music, also depend upon the mechanical inventions, instruments, the mutable habits of thought in harmony, and other psychological processes. Their cultivation depends upon distribution of surplus wealth, upon social organization, religious scruples, and other ingredients of culture which do not isolate such phenomena from any other feature of the culture complex.)

Finally, the interaction between art and its epoch is not one-sided but reciprocal.

<sup>47</sup> Read, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>48</sup> The concept of universality needs clarification, but such elaboration would not be relevant at this point.

<sup>49</sup> Babbitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33; 178-79.

<sup>50</sup> Luther Anderson, *op. cit.*

In a sense, the Wagnerian music-drama was a product of German nationalism of the nineteenth century, fertilized by the composer's erudition in Greek drama. At the same time, by establishing novel musical habits, it created the taste which finally approved it, and is even now, during the period of the recrudescence of German nationalist sentiments, enjoying a revival which makes it a powerful factor in social control. A work of art, therefore, is not the product of genius alone; it is a co-operative enterprise between author, audience, geography, philosophy of life and the innumerable winds of fashion which, as far as we are consciously concerned,

blow whither they listeth. If art is still mysterious, so is the chemical reaction in the test tube. Everything, when pursued to its more profound implications, ends in mystery. Beauty is neither more nor less mysterious than is any other phenomenon in nature; tastes *can* be accounted for, and no taste is intrinsically superior to any other. (With such a point of view, we shall no longer be interested in art, and its essence, but in the *arts* and their inter-relations as an activity of social man, toward the clarification of which the social sciences may well make a contribution.)

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### A PSYCHOLOGICAL REASON FOR THE LAG OF "NON-MATERIAL" CULTURE TRAITS

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THE distinction made by sociologists between the "material" and the "non-material" traits provides a rough classification of the different factors in a culture pattern.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of the argument to follow, we shall accept the distinction for its conceptual usefulness. Analyses of the comparative rate of change of these two types of culture traits has led various writers to the conclusion that on the whole there is a tendency for material changes to take place more rapidly, thus causing a cultural "lag" because of the disparity in rate of change.<sup>2</sup> Although explanations for resistance to general social change have been attempted in cultural, economic, geographical, biological, and psychological terms, satisfactory reasons for the differential rate of change of non-material traits are difficult to find. The reasons given are usually tenuous and vague. Thus Ogburn states that "the adoption of inventions in material culture will be somewhat earlier than changes

in the non-material culture, and that obstacles to change are found in connection with non-material culture that are not found with the material culture."<sup>3</sup> We would like to know more specifically what some of these "obstacles to change" are.

Since the acceptance or rejection of any trait (either material or non-material) depends in the last analysis on the individuals who live within a culture area, an examination of the changes in these traits with reference to the psychology of personality may reveal at least one of the "obstacles" which are peculiar to the non-material traits. What, then, are the typical ways in which changes of material traits occur and how do these changes differ from those of non-material culture traits?

First of all it is apparent that material traits will be accepted if they are consonant with the prevailing value of the culture. For example, if a representative individual of the American culture pattern shares the contemporary high economic value which determines that he should gain satisfaction by displaying his wealth, we can imagine that, without the slightest

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Malcolm M. Willey, "Society and Its Cultural Heritage," in *Introduction to Sociology*, New York, 1927, p. 518; W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, New York, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, New York, 1923; Ogburn, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Ogburn, *op. cit.*, p. 275.



re-ordering of personal values, he would readily replace a fine chaise with an automobile and later change the automobile for an airplane as these new material traits are introduced. The fine chaise, the automobile, and the airplane would all represent his dominant interest and the paramount value of his culture. However, if a new *non-material* trait were introduced which was not consistent with the general determining tendency it would probably be rejected. The individual would resist a new form of government such as Communism since it would mean a complete reorganization of the mental pattern characteristic of his personality.

Likewise *any* type of cultural value seems to determine the nature of the material traits which are accepted as elaborations of the existing culture pattern. In sixteenth century Florence new objects of art were greedily received by a culture predominantly aesthetic. Sparta, on the other hand, discouraged artistic endeavor and accepted only those material traits which conformed to her militaristic attitudes. For many centuries China has incorporated into its culture pattern numerous concrete expressions of filial piety. England readily adopted material traits which would satisfy and extend her commercial attitudes of the seventeenth century. Under the reign of Louis XIV, Versailles was flooded with symbols of luxury and magnificence, whereas in the Middle Ages complete abstinence from all forms of physical comfort and luxury was practised by different cultural groups.

New material traits, then, arising within or introduced into a culture will be rapidly accepted if they are consistent with existing attitudes and are therefore found to have positive value, whereas new material traits which satisfy other attitudes will be rejected or are less likely to be introduced. But new *non-material* traits

are not usually consonant with prevailing attitudes. If a non-material trait is incorporated in a culture pattern, it must either supplant or modify a rigid, dynamic interest. And because new non-material traits necessitate a *change* of value rather than a mere *extension* in the range of inclusiveness of a value, they will be accepted slowly, if at all. The great resistances to culture change seem to be largely explicable in terms of the characteristics of the general attitudes built up in any given social era. The numerous provincial religious attitudes pervading Egyptian culture in the fourteenth century B.C. would not yield to Ikhnaton's new religious conceptions in spite of the propaganda and force used to promulgate them. The many warnings of Isocrates were rejected because of the rigid attitudes of local patriotism generated in the Greek city states. Since introductions of conflicting non-material traits necessitate a re-ordering of the fundamental values that compose the "inner" life of men and since the very characteristics of these values seem inimical to change, it is not surprising that changes in non-material traits are relatively slow. Ikhnaton, Socrates, Christ, Joan of Arc, Rousseau, Marx, and modern social reformers have attempted to change ingrained patterns of personality, whereas the creators of new *material* traits have usually suggested only more efficient or more elaborate ways in which existing attitudes may find expression. And such innovations in material traits do not necessarily require any change of attitude.

The interpretation that new material traits are readily admitted into a culture if they give concrete expression to prevailing values and that new non-material traits are only gradually accepted because of the rigidity of pre-existing values, is confirmed by recent laboratory investigation concerned with the qualitative nature of

attitudes.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the confusion in the definitions of "attitude," research has demonstrated that there are definite characteristics of attitudes. We find that attitudes (1) may be general and pervasive; (2) that the *general* determining tendencies are more constant and enduring than the *specific* attitudes; and (3) that a general attitude seems to serve as a dynamic or at least as a determinative influence upon more specific attitudes and reactions.<sup>5</sup> Thus an individual may have a *general* aesthetic attitude which will *determine* his reactions in specific situations and which will be more *difficult to change* than some less general disposition.

The *pervasiveness* of attitudes has been illustrated in numerous quantitative studies.<sup>6</sup> Vetter, for example, has found that a liberal attitude is reflected consistently by an individual in various types of social situations.<sup>7</sup> The assumption in most scales for measuring attitudes is

<sup>4</sup> Although the concept of *attitude* is "ill-defined, and as employed by various writers refers to determining tendencies that range in inclusiveness from the *Aufgabe* to the *Weltanschauung*" (Cf. G. W. Allport, "What Is a Trait of Personality," *Jl. of Abn. and Soc. Psychol.*, XXV, 368, 1931) there is in most definitions of the term a *subjective* reference to some type of determining tendency. We shall therefore consider attitude as *mental Struktur* rather than as a form of action or expression such as a habit. Since expressive movements are held to be bio-physical rather than bio-social products, the sociologist seeking an explanation of cultural change may perhaps most fruitfully turn to the more *socially* determined "elements" of personality, namely, attitudes.

<sup>5</sup> These and other characteristics of attitudes have been determined by the writer (Cf. General and Specific Attitudes, *Psychological Monograph*, XLII, no. 192, 1932). Experimental evidence for the pervasive, enduring, and dynamic nature of attitudes referred to will be found in this study.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Read Bain, "Theory and Measurement of Attitudes and Opinions," *Psychol. Bull.*, XXVII, 357-379, 1930.

<sup>7</sup> G. B. Vetter, "Measurement of Social and Political Attitudes," *Jl. of Abn. and Soc. Psychol.*, XXV, 149-189, 1930.

that there are various ways in which a general determining tendency may exert a *directive influence* and that any activity in which a characteristic attitude is manifested may be thought of as consistent and harmonious with personality. The validity of this assumption has been experimentally established.

The *enduring quality* of general attitudes has also been demonstrated. Investigation on the relative constancy of general attitudes and specific content has shown that a general attitude remains comparatively constant over a period of time while specific content which refers to that attitude is usually different at various times. Experiments have also shown that general impressions are more frequently recalled than specific references.

These characteristics of attitudes would seem to give a valid psychological explanation for the relatively slow change in non-material culture traits. If general attitudes are *constant* they will not readily yield to change; if they are *pervasive* they may be expressed in numerous ways; if they are *dynamic* then specific attitudes toward specific situations will be consistent with the broader pattern of mental life; and if a new material trait is introduced into a culture, it will be accepted in so far as it is in harmony with the dominant values of that culture.

Wide differences exist, of course, in both the quality and intensity of individual attitudes. However, these differences must be conceived of as differences existing *within* a given culture. If we regard attitudes as cumulations of specific thought processes stimulated by cultural surroundings, then the attitudes of all individuals who live in a given culture pattern will be determined by the characteristic values of that particular culture. This influence of culture attitudes in determining individual attitudes seems sociologically unques-

tioned. Thus MacIver states "that certain attitudes characterize whole groups, tribal, local, racial, national, and so forth, towards other groups. These attitudes are sustained and perpetuated within the mores of the groups, being in large part confirmed in each member by the social influences which bear upon him."<sup>8</sup> There are, then, broad differences in the prevailing attitudes of cultures as well as individual differences of attitudes within a culture and the attitudes of an individual are necessarily rated *with preference to the cultural norm*. Thus a person with an intense religious attitude today might well have been classified as only ordinarily religious had he lived under the reign of Pope Gregory VII or in thirteenth century Italy. Likewise a modern conservative might have appeared thoroughly liberal in the society represented by John Cotton.

The non-material traits in a society do change, then, however slowly. Although we are interested here primarily in the disparity between the rate of material and non-material change, a few reasons, based on the nature of attitudes, may be suggested for the shift in non-material traits. (1) Certain new non-material traits which agree with pre-existing general attitudes are soon adopted by a culture and thereby

extend or intensify the prevailing values. Thus the commercial attitudes which were aroused in sixteenth century Spain and England were favorably received since they enhanced the existing nationalistic attitudes. Americans are captivated by new attitudes suggesting a "business" government; and modern Russia accepts the American attitudes toward efficiency and machine technique since they aid in fulfilling the general Soviet ideals. (2) New attitudes may be rapidly assumed by the discontented members of a society if the prevailing cultural values are the cause of the unrest. These dissatisfied individuals may then organize themselves around the new attitudes which are then likely to become institutionalized. The growth and spread of Christianity and Communism seem to illustrate this type of change. (3) New material traits introduced into a culture may readily show an easier, more efficient way of life and cause a consequent change of cultural forms which will be more in harmony with the new cultural contents. The spread of machine civilization in Japan and the acceptance of certain corollary Western values exemplifies this way of change. (4) Education and (5) propaganda may gradually produce the infiltration of new attitudes to the members of a society.

## WAS THE AMERICAN CONFLICT A WAR BETWEEN STATES?

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UNTIL anger had somewhat abated in the North, the victors in the war of 1861 insisted that the clash of arms should be called the War of the Rebellion. In fact they wrote the ugly

word rebellion in the official records. In vain the South protested, insisting that the term was offensive. The war was not a rebellion but a civil conflict. At length the North yielded the point. The Civil War, it should be called.

In the meantime, however, an old

<sup>8</sup> R. M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Change*, New York, 1931, p. 45.

Unionist who had opposed secession and obstructed the Confederate President at every turn made a discovery. About the year 1870 Alex. Stephens discovered that the conflict was not a civil war but was a war between states. As Mr. Stephens' term is now coming into use among some writers, including, here and there, a historian, it seems not inappropriate to inquire if the war of 1861 was, in truth and in fact, between states.

The following phrases are sometimes used to designate the unfortunate conflict: War of the Rebellion, Brothers' War, Confederate War, War of Secession, War between the Confederate States and the United States, War for Southern Independence, War between the States, Civil War. We may dismiss with a word all of the above terms except the last two. War of the Rebellion is a phrase which has been generally abandoned, Brothers' War is sentimental, Confederate War and War of Secession are historically correct but colorless. War between the Confederate States and the United States is quite accurate but is long and cumbersome, War for Southern Independence is picturesque but it carries a sting, implying that the southern states have lost their independence and are attached to the United States Government against their will.

We may now consider the remaining terms, War between the States, and Civil War. In respect to the first we will pass over the fact that Mr. Stephens, the coiner of the phrase, had often spoken of it as the Civil War, and will examine his reasons for changing the phraseology. He relies on Vattel's *Law of Nations* (Stephens, *War between the States*, II, 426), and quotes so much of that work as relates to a civil war in a nation, but fails to quote the reference to a civil war in a republic. Now Vattel places these two conflicts on the same

footing and concludes that in each case it is a civil war.

At page 489 Vattel says, "When, in a republic the nation is divided into two opposite factions and both sides take arms, this is called a civil war." A little earlier the author had declared that "Custom appropriates the term civil war to a war between members of one and the same political society." This phrase Stephens relies on, and insists that the United States in 1860 was not one political society but was composed of several political societies. Therefore, argues Stephens, Vattel's definition of civil war does not apply to the American conflict.

Let us examine this contention. We may concede, for the sake of the argument, that the United States in 1860 was, in certain respects, not one political society. But it must be said that in the matter of making war the United States was one political society: the Constitution had so provided. The Constitution took from the states the war-making power and gave such power to the General Government. Therefore, war within United States territory and by citizens of such territory was not a war between states.

If Stephens implies that it was a conflict between the United States of America, on the one side, and the Confederate States of America, on the other—that is between two great political organizations—he is of course correct. But manifestly this is not his meaning. *That* statement is not significant, it is a mere platitude; nor would it have served his purpose. It is true Stephens asserts that "The war was therefore a war between states regularly organized into two separate federal republics." But the context shows, and the title of his book makes plain, that he meant the war was one between states as states and not between two grand political organizations.



And this brings us to the point: Was the war a war between states as states? Is it correct, historically, to speak of the War between the States? Did New York wage war against Georgia, did Massachusetts fight against Virginia, did Maine contend with Mississippi? As we have seen, this was not the case, the Constitution of the United States and also of the Confederacy forbade it. No state, as a state, fought with any other state. For the purpose of making war the United States was a unit. So was the Confederacy. For war-making purposes the states were merged into their respective governments.

South Carolina did not declare war against New York, nor did Georgia contend with Pennsylvania, nor North Carolina with New Jersey. Nor did any single northern state wage war against any single southern state. In the matter of seceding how did each southern state proceed? It first withdrew from the Union and became a separate Republic. Later it joined an organization called the Confederate States. But, for the purposes of self-defense, the southern states were merged into the Confederacy. Once during the war, Georgia, as a state, raised certain regiments and tendered them to the Confederacy. Congress approved, but President Davis vetoed the bill insisting that such action would destroy the Confederacy: eradicate its sovereignty and make of it a bundle of states. Moreover, troops from North Carolina were merged into Virginia regiments, colonels and generals from Georgia commanded Tennessee and Texas soldiers, Virginia generals led armies composed of troops from every southern state, fighting them on the battlefields of Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi. General Lee fought against his own brother-in-law, Judge Marshall; and also against his nephew, Colonel Marshall, and his cousin,

Rear Admiral S. P. Lee. Meade fought against his wife's brother, General Huger.

If the war was not one between states, was it a civil war? As we have seen Vattel declares that resistance inside a republic to its organized government is civil war. We might quote Washington and other Fathers that the United States is a Republic—a conclusion in which Mr. Stephens concurs. In truth Stephens, in his Augusta speech in 1861 (Stephens, *Ibid.*, II, 708), had declared that the election of Breckinridge and Lane would probably bring on disunion "and civil strife." General Lee uniformly spoke of the war as civil strife, and in a magazine article General Richard Taylor designates it as the Civil War. In his splendid short stories Thos. Nelson Page writes of the Civil War.

January 21, 1861, Jefferson Davis addressed the United States Senate and presented South Carolina's grievances (Rowland, *Davis*, IV, 579): "You have rendered civil war inevitable," declared Mr. Davis. The *Southern Literary Messenger*, an exponent of the best southern scholarship, in May, 1861, warned its readers that "a civil war with all its horrors had begun." (Volume 32, p. 129.) Governor Letcher of Virginia answered Lincoln's call for troops with these words, "You have chosen to inaugurate civil war." In fact until Stephens' discovery all southerners called the war a civil conflict. Poole's *Abridged Index of Periodical Literature*, covering the forty year period after the war, employs the phrase Civil War several hundred times. It nowhere uses the phrase, War between the States. The *Century Dictionary* affirms that, "War between different sections of one country or between differing factions of one people," is called civil war. The *National Biographical Dictionary* uniformly writes, "The Civil War."

But we may go a step further and admit Mr. Stephens' contention, that the United States in 1860 was not one political society. Yet the fact remains that the conflict was a civil one. For the reason that Civil War did rage in thirteen of the fifteen slave states. Stephens concedes that a state is one political society and that war between the citizens of the same state would be a civil war. Now such a war did actually rage in Tennessee, in Missouri, in Virginia, in Maryland, in Kentucky, in North Carolina, and in thirteen of the fifteen slave states. That is Virginians fought Virginians; Marylanders fought Marylanders; and so on all down the line. *In truth, the reason the South failed to win was because the war was a civil war and not a war between states.* Had each and every slave state been of one mind and undivided the Confederacy would have been unconquerable. It was the Border Slave States that repudiated secession and saved the Union.

In the Union army there were 283,599 white men from southern slave states, actively participating against the south. (O. R. Serial no. 125, p. 1269). The slave state of Missouri furnished more than 100,000 troops to the Union cause; Virginia furnished more than 31,000; Tennessee more than 31,000; Maryland more than 33,000; Delaware more than 11,000; Arkansas more than 8,000. South Carolina and Georgia alone of the slave states failed to furnish troops against the Confederacy. When war broke out in Missouri, the state convention designated it as a civil war; and in many Kentucky towns companies would be formed and one march North and another march South.

It might be mentioned, further, that the Confederacy failed of foreign recognition because the statesmen of Europe considered the conflict civil strife. In vain did Benjamin, Secretary of State, insist, in diplomatic conversation with Foreign Secretary Russell, that the war was between states and not mere civil strife. Russell, a southern sympathizer, replied to Benjamin that England could not accept that view as the only basis of the war was revolution.

On the whole it would seem that the phrase Civil War accurately describes the conflict, nor does it beg the question at issue between southern Unionists and southern Secessionists as the term, War between the States, does. If it was a war between states, and if a state had the right to withdraw at pleasure from the Union, Secession was right, Appomattox was a tragedy, and the southern states are at this hour conquered territory.

It is an interesting fact that an old time Union Whig should have discovered the phrase war between the states. It was Alex. Stephens who published a work under that new title—Stephens who had opposed Secession and obstructed the Confederate President. Little wonder that the great, consistent Georgian, Ben. H. Hill, was enraged at Stephens' change from a Union Whig to a Secession Democrat and characterized Stephens as a turn-coat. In the Atlanta Constitution after the war, Hill openly and fiercely charged that Stephens changed front to meet popular favor thereby securing a seat in the United States Senate.

## THE CRISIS CONCEPT IN THE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF PERSONALITY

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THE term "crisis" has been used in common parlance to designate important, decisive states of things, critical or culmination points, or turning points where the change is either favorable or unfavorable. The term is applied both to events in the external world of affairs and to the physical or mental states of individuals. Biographers use the term in the latter sense to indicate the crucial points in the lives of their subjects and occasionally an autobiographer will label a period in his own mental life or event in his career as a crisis.<sup>1</sup>

The term has been applied technically in some fields. In medicine it is used with reference to the symptom manifestations of a disease. The widest standardized usage of the term has been made by economists in connection with low points in the business cycle. Psychologists sometimes speak of adolescence, senility, and mental aberrations as crises without pretense of a technical definition of the word. Sociologists, following the influence of W. I. Thomas, have been using the term in the analysis of group phenomena and more recently with special reference to group situations as they affect the individual personality.

In this paper the main developments in the study of crises as group phenomena which bear upon individual behavior will be indicated. Also, studies dealing with phases of personality change where the change is related to group factors will be dealt with. This survey of literature may thus be regarded as preliminary to the development of a view of personality inte-

gration in terms of crises in the life of an individual.

Thomas made the first extensive definition of crisis as a social-psychological concept. In an early article<sup>2</sup> he describes crises as "incidents in group-life which interrupt the flow of habit and give rise to changed conditions of consciousness and practice." He describes the process by which shock disturbs the smooth-running of habit and calls for an adjustment on a new level. Attention is activated, emotions are aroused, and the situation is explored "with a view to reconstructing modes of activity." New customs arise in the group through the collective action of individuals in meeting crises. There are several varieties of crises, catastrophes, such as famine, flood, and pestilence; the more regular events of birth, puberty and death; experiences such as dreams, intoxication, and epilepsy; and conflicts between individuals or between individuals and the group, as in individual violations of group codes. Out of this range of events arise moral, religious and legal practices, inventions, and the division of labor.

While his emphasis in this analysis is essentially on the side of the group significance of crisis, the individual aspects are not neglected as witnessed by the use of the terms "habit," "emotion," and "attention."

In his *Source Book for Social Origins*, Thomas gave a somewhat more extended analysis of crisis, again with the emphasis on the group aspects.<sup>3</sup> Here he points out

<sup>2</sup> W. I. Thomas, "The Province of Social Psychology," *Am. J. Soc.*, X (1904-5), 445-55.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-22.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, Ch. V.

that he is not employing the term in the sense of a violent event but merely as a disturbance of habit. In an article of still later date<sup>4</sup> he places more emphasis on the applications of the term to individual behavior. Changes in environment result in "greater fitness, reduced efficiency, or death." Crisis is followed by greater intelligence on the one hand or mental depression on the other.

*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* may be regarded as a study in crisis although in this work there is no systematic employment of the term.<sup>5</sup> In a fairly recent article on personality<sup>6</sup> Thomas does not mention the term "crisis" but he is impressed with the number of psychoneurotic personalities who have fallen into this state through a single conditioning incident. He applies this to the normal personality in showing that a single critical experience may "define the situation" and give a "psychological set . . . often determining the whole life-direction." Thomas' most recent volume, in collaboration with D. S. Thomas, makes no mention of the term. It does, however, state that, although they concede the part that constitutional differences depending on physiological processes play, they are also "impressed with the fact that life experiences, perhaps a *single experience*, may so condition the individual that his reactions are or appear to be as pathological as

those of the constitutional inferior."<sup>7</sup> It seems that Thomas has lost interest in the term taken up so assiduously by a few of those who have been influenced by his earlier writings.

Another of the earlier attempts to appraise the rôle of crisis phenomena in group processes is found among the French sociological determinists, followers of Durkheim. Richard<sup>8</sup> contends that criminality is caused by social changes, religious revolutions, and political upheavals rather than by atavistic survivals of primitive morals. While such an explanation is extremely limited it pointed at that time to the important part played by group factors in crime.

A more complete analysis of crisis, including a description of the individual aspects, has been presented by Draghicesco.<sup>9</sup> He points out that while organic equilibrium is necessary for maintaining unity of consciousness it is also true that unity of consciousness is necessary to maintain organic unity. Thus an unusual piece of news received unexpectedly and causing great joy or extreme sorrow may unbalance the mind and finally break the continuity of the organism. He also quotes Ribot to show that complete mental organization is accompanied by a minimum of consciousness; when the unity is disturbed consciousness is aroused. This writer then contends that the unity of the self is not really within ourselves but in

<sup>4</sup> W. I. Thomas, "Race Psychology: Standpoint and Questionnaire with particular Reference to the Immigrant and Negro," *Am. J. Soc.*, XVII (1912), 725-75.

<sup>5</sup> See also Park and Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, 1921, pp. 60-61, for a statement of change in the "definition of the situation" as a crisis in the life of immigrants.

<sup>6</sup> W. I. Thomas, "The Problem of Personality in the Urban Environment" in E. W. Burgess (ed.), *The Urban Community* (Selected papers from the Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, 1925), pp. 38-47.

<sup>7</sup> *The Child in America*, 1928, p. 505. (Italics inserted.)

<sup>8</sup> "Les crises sociales et les conditions de la criminalité," *L'année sociologique*, III (1898-99), 15-42. It is interesting to note that Wundt mentioned the fact that morals appear first when there is a crisis which violently "jolts" the established means of life, *Ethik*, Pt. III, Ch. 1, 4 (d), p. 490. (Cited by Richard in a review of an article by Tarde, *op. cit.*, V. (1900-01), 452.)

<sup>9</sup> D. Draghicesco, *Du rôle de l'individu dans le déterminisme social*, 1904, pp. 166-67; 183-88.



the continuity of our relationships with our fellows. Thus when this external unity is disturbed the unity of the self is also deranged. If the social circle of which the individual is a member is homogeneous and unchanging the unity of the self is maintained; if it is disturbed in a brusque manner and there is a high degree of mobility the individual equilibrium is also disturbed. The effect of change can be measured by the great frequency of crime, deceit, insanity and suicide in modern society as compared with primitive society. Conscience is in a state of disequilibrium because the formal unity maintained by society is in conflict with the real unity as it exists in the group. In time of crisis there is a dissociation of the personality. A war, or national disaster, resulting in losses of fortune by individuals, constitute brusque changes in the environment which may result in suicide or insanity.

Another discussion of an aspect of group crisis has been presented by King.<sup>10</sup> He discusses the parallel nature of social change and the emotionalism manifested by a people. Emotion accompanies a disturbance in the previous co-ordinations. If, after the disturbance, an immediate adjustment is made there is a minimum of emotion. The same thing happens for groups. Hence rapid changes in certain periods of history, or the thrusting of foreign customs upon more primitive peoples, make for a lack of constructive adjustment and the development of a "useless emotionalism."

Turning next to anthropological literature, a somewhat different interest in the crisis problem is to be found. Here the ceremonialism surrounding birth, puberty, marriage, and death is the center of atten-

tion. The systematic treatment of these crises begins with Van Gennep.<sup>11</sup> Primitive peoples, observing these natural processes and events, probably reflected upon the question of their causes and began to devise magic for their facilitation and control.<sup>12</sup> The actual intended functions of ceremonial rites is obscure and their forms are quite different in various cultures. Certain aspects of crisis ceremonies, especially in the case of adolescence are, however, quite obvious. First, they have educative value for adult functioning; second, they mark a culmination period showing that the youth has passed into manhood or womanhood; and third, the individual must prove his endurance qualities for adult life, as in the instance of ordeal.<sup>13</sup>

An interesting point with regard to crisis ceremonials is that they do not always coincide with the actual changes which mark the crisis in its individual manifestations. This may be ascribed to the formalistic nature which ritual assumes in the process of social change or to an actual motivation.<sup>14</sup> The formalistic nature of institutional attempts in the control of individuals is also manifest in the ceremonial rites of modern cultures which include christening, confirmation, betrothal, marriage, and death.

Ethnological data on crises show: (1) the recognition of such periods by primitive peoples; (2) the actual emotional

<sup>11</sup> A. Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, 1909.

<sup>12</sup> A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, 1926, p. 88.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99; 102-105.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Elsie Clews Parsons, "Holding Back in Crisis Ceremonialism," *Amer. Anthropologist*, XVIII (1916), 41-52; "Ceremonial Impatience," *Jr. of Phil. Psych. and Sci. Meth.*, XV (1918), 157-67; and in H. E. Stearns (ed.), *Civilization in the U. S.*, 1922, chapter by Parsons on "Sex," pp. 309-18. Evidence is presented to show that there are desires to either delay or hasten the crisis period.

<sup>10</sup> Irving King, "Influence of the Form of Social Change Upon the Emotional Life of a People," *Amer. J. Soc.*, IX (1903-04), 124-35.

effect and behavior change which they may be designed to and perhaps do elicit; (3) the comparative evidence that the control of the life processes in different cultures may furnish to show how these different cultures may create or effectively eliminate emotional crises in its members. The last point bears upon the formal nature of the group controls mentioned above and involves the problem of how a difference between behavior and prescribed action may create conflict. The recognition of the psychological aspects of human culture or, in other words, the relation of the individual to culture has brought out some fruitful studies of this problem. Mead<sup>15</sup> has shown that in Samoa, under a different set of standards, adolescent crises are practically absent. Boas<sup>16</sup> cites instances to show that there is an absence among primitive peoples, of certain conflict crises characteristic of individuals in modern cultures, while on the other hand, primitives experience crises unknown to moderns.<sup>17</sup>

Another approach to the study of crises is to be found in the field of psychopathology. Janet's studies are particularly significant in this respect.<sup>18</sup> He refers to the fact that the animal magnetists described somnambulist states "characterized by a transformation and by a sudden and temporary cure of patients who had been suffering from severe neuropathic symptoms and very grave depression."<sup>19</sup> The mag-

netists called these states "crises." Janet uses the term in a broader, but still somewhat limited medical sense, for designating certain states or symptoms of nervous disorder. He speaks of crises of fear, sadness, shyness, despair, alarm, agitation, depression; crises of indecision and doubt; nervous crises, crises of delirious somnambulism, visceral congestion; and convulsive and epileptic crises. It is to be noted that some of these refer to purely organic states while others refer to emotional or attitudinal states.

But the real significance of Janet's work does not lie in this usage of the term "crisis." It lies rather in his analysis of the behavior process as observed in neuropathic individuals. He describes the neuropathic condition as being fundamentally one of depression, sometimes disturbed by mental or bodily agitation or by anxiety. It may continue for a long time or end shortly. Its end is marked by the resumption of normal, smooth-running, adaptive activity. It is at this time that new memories and habits arise. In this state the individual shows reduced emotivity, and, though "really living more, . . . seems to be thinking less." At this time a balance is maintained between "psychological tension" and the "level" or "degree of activation" whereas formerly tension without activation has been present. More rarely the neuropathic state ends in joy, enthusiasm or ecstasy.<sup>20</sup> Janet presents a classification of situations which have been observed to act either as depressing or exciting agents with his subjects.

Another behavior concept which bears a relation to crisis is the "traumatic memory" which is so important in the

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928. B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, 1927, contains similar data.

<sup>16</sup> Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, 1928, pp. 185-88.

<sup>17</sup> E. C. Parsons, in Stearns, *op. cit.*, and Lynd, *Middletown*, 1929, contain materials showing the relation of personality to American civilization.

<sup>18</sup> Pierre Janet, *Psychological Healing*, 2 vols. (Tr. by E. and C. Paul), 1925. For a briefer summary similar to this work see his *Principles of Psychotherapy*, (Tr. by H. M. and E. R. Guthrie), 1924.

<sup>19</sup> *Psychological Healing*, II, 788.

<sup>20</sup> See *Psychological Healing*, II, 835-37. For a complete theoretical analysis of the process described see Janet's article, "Les tensions psychologique et ses oscillations," in Dumas, *Traité de psychologie*, I, 1923.

Freudian theory of neuroses. These memories are variously referred to as "complexes," "phobias," and "obsessions" which result from experiences causing emotional shock. Under the Freudian system the experience is thought to be incompatible with the mental system or the conscious states and is hence "suppressed" into the "unconscious" where it maintains the more or less constant states of depression, agitation, or other nervous manifestations. The patient is cured when, by the process of "free association" or "mental catharsis," the suppressed memory is revived and integrated into the conscious mental system.

Healy makes use of a similar principle in his study of delinquency. "A remarkable, dynamic quality characterizing certain hidden mental reactions to experiences is responsible in some individuals for the production of misconduct, or, indeed, whole careers of delinquency."<sup>21</sup> The cases presented in the work cited relate incidents in the life of the individual, which have led to the association of stealing or other delinquencies with strong emotional interests. Healy surmises, however, that it may be the repetition of such experiences which serves to fix the association rather than a single experience.

A study especially worth noting in the psychopathological field is that made by Hamilton.<sup>22</sup> Realizing that "there was available almost no scientifically established information as to how the human organism tends to respond to the great variety of stimulations which call for *adjustments of the body as a whole* to the outside world and which evoke attending mental responses,"<sup>23</sup> Hamilton established

a clinic for the purpose of assembling such material. About three-fourths of his 200 cases reveal single incidents or series of incidents which played an important part in the pathological behavior of the individual.

Kempf<sup>24</sup> has presented a number of pathological cases, making use of autobiographical accounts, and accounts obtained through interview, to show the social origin of the pathological behavior. He uses the term "crisis" in the analysis of his cases to indicate certain incidents which have a behavior changing effect but does not use the term in a technical sense.<sup>25</sup>

Another study of crisis lying within this field, but of a rather special type has been made by Boisen.<sup>26</sup> His analysis of some fourscore cases is rather negative from the crisis standpoint, only three of them showing that the sense of failure was precipitated by "crushing experiences." The article is significant for its analysis of the process by which various kinds of adjustments follow the onset of a "sense of failure." Here the sense of failure is the turning point from which a change in behavior ensues.

Turning from the pathological field to the more general treatment of behavior, descriptions of processes similar to those designated by Thomas as "crises" are to be found. William James described the process of *deliberation* which is brought about by conflicting ideas and is characterized by inward unrest or "*indecision*."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> E. J. Kempf, *Psychopathology*, 1920.

<sup>25</sup> While other studies in the psychopathological field give credence to events of a social nature in the causation of the abnormal behavior, the above are mentioned here because of the fact that they are relatively non-particularistic in point of view.

<sup>26</sup> A. T. Boisen, "Personality Changes and Upheavals Arising Out of the Sense of Personal Failure," *Am. Jr. Psychiatry*, (1926), 531-51.

<sup>27</sup> Wm. James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1890, II, 229-30.

<sup>21</sup> Wm. Healy, *Mental Conflict and Misconduct*, 1917, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> G. V. Hamilton, *An Introduction to Objective Psycho-Pathology*, 1925.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Growing out of this is Dewey's more complete analysis of thinking. He points out that only disturbances of behavior arouse emotion and produce thought. But this is the normal state of the organism as life is a process of "interruptions and recoveries."<sup>28</sup>

Another type of behavior which may be included under the crisis category is *conversion*. Early studies were made in this field by Leuba,<sup>29</sup> Starbuck,<sup>30</sup> and James.<sup>31</sup> Starbuck regarded conversion as a crisis characteristic of adolescence. He exaggerated its dependence upon this period and its consequences in changing behavior. James treated conversion in much the same way, considering it as one form of sudden emotional disturbance where a religious element is involved.<sup>32</sup> In his essay, "The Energies of Men,"<sup>33</sup> written later, James discussed the part that "*excitement, ideas, and efforts*" or that scientific, philosophic or religious conversion played in rousing the individual from the "hold that habit has" and in increasing the output of energy.

Leuba's<sup>34</sup> more recent study of religious phenomena contains a quantity of valuable material for the study of crisis. He notes the absence of periodicity in the emotional ecstasies of mystics and ascribes this to the occurrence of external events which may destroy any real periodicity which might

appear as the result of physiological processes.<sup>35</sup> He also makes an extensive comparison of religious inspiration with other types, such as artistic and scientific inspiration.<sup>36</sup> All of these types are alike in that they involve periods of brooding, striving, and fruitless effort which end in a successful direction of behavior and are interpreted by the subject as inspiration. Other writers have also compared religious with other types of conversions.<sup>37</sup>

Certain phases of physiologically marked changes have also been traditionally regarded as crisis periods. Adolescence has especially been viewed by educators and others as a precarious period and a time of great upheaval. A recent tendency, however, is to discount this view almost entirely and regard adolescence, like any other period, as a time of continuous and gradual development.<sup>38</sup>

Hollingworth<sup>39</sup> believes that there are interruptions and spurts of development during adolescence but that they are the result of "extrinsic," environmental influences rather than of "intrinsic," physiological factors.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, perhaps only fifty per cent of human beings experience any of the difficulties classically attributed to adolescence.<sup>41</sup> Allport discusses these physiological crises from the standpoint of the social meaning which they have. Thus pregnancy and the crises of middle life in women cause anxiety over the loss of physical attractiveness.<sup>42</sup> Puberty

<sup>28</sup> John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, 1922, pp. 178-96. (See his *How We Think*, 1910, for more detailed analysis of the thinking process.)

<sup>29</sup> James H. Leuba, "Study in the Psychology of Religious Phenomena," *Am. J. Psych.*, VII (1896), 309-85.

<sup>30</sup> E. D. Starbuck, "A Study of Conversion," *Am. J. Psych.*, VIII (1897), 268-308. (See also his *Psychology of Religion*, 1899).

<sup>31</sup> Wm. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1904.

<sup>32</sup> See James, *op. cit.*, p. 196 for his description of emotional crises and conversion.

<sup>33</sup> *Philosophical Review*, XVI (1907), 1-20.

<sup>34</sup> James H. Leuba, *Psychology of Religious Mysticism*, 1926.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>36</sup> For the analysis of "scientific inspiration" see *ibid.*, pp. 240-51.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Anna Robson Burr, *The Autobiography*, 1909, pp. 254-55.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. F. D. Brooks, *The Psychology of Adolescence*, 1929.

<sup>39</sup> H. L. Hollingworth, *Mental Growth and Decline*, 1927.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>42</sup> F. W. Allport, *Social Psychology*, 1924, p. 352.



gives rise to a period of conflict and introversion because the maturing child suddenly finds itself ashamed at being in love with the parent of the opposite sex.<sup>43</sup>

Turning to the more recent literature in the sociological field it is to be noted that there is some tendency to use the term "crisis" in a systematic sense. Kimball Young in his *Source Book for Social Psychology*, devotes considerable space to the definition and analysis of group crises. He also makes use of the term in the same respect in his *Social Psychology*.

If a recent collection of sociological papers<sup>44</sup> may be regarded as an index to interest in the problems of the field, the notion of crises seems to have some importance. Faris<sup>45</sup> considers crisis as the "key" to attitude change. "Every attitude is . . . the resolution of a crisis, the solution of a difficulty, the end of a period of chaos, the termination of a moment of disorganization."<sup>46</sup> Bernard<sup>47</sup> also describes crises as attitude-forming situations. His analysis is made largely in behavioristic terms, showing the process by which crises give rise to inhibition, emotion, lowered tension and depression. Release of inhibition gives rise to heightened tension "preparatory to the release of behavior patterns into overt behavior."<sup>48</sup>

Znaniecki<sup>49</sup> gives an analysis of a voluntarily produced group crisis. He designates several types of crises: There are those brought on by (1) sudden external happenings not provided against; (2) incidents in the life of individuals, such as birth, puberty, and death; (3) conflicts of

habit between individuals and between individuals and the group. To these he adds (4) "voluntary crises," as mentioned above.

A number of the University of Chicago studies in sociology employ the crisis concept in a systematic manner. Anderson lists a number of crises and gives cases to show the part that these events play in precipitating a life of vagrancy.<sup>50</sup> Cavan<sup>51</sup> gives a very complete analysis of the crisis process with reference to cases of contemplated and actual suicide.<sup>52</sup> But these studies use crises largely as an aid in explaining the vagrancy and suicide and hence are of limited value in defining the general nature of crises, depending, as they do, largely upon whatever previous definitions of the process already exist.<sup>53</sup>

Other of the Chicago studies have used "crisis" in connection with the more general question of the theory of personality. Harper<sup>54</sup> defines crises in terms of the inhibition of wishes or other types of behavior which generates emotion. The crisis ends when an adjustment is made in the form of new habits or attitudes. Krueger<sup>55</sup> also discusses the part played by crisis in the creation of tensions of per-

<sup>50</sup> Nels Anderson, *The Hobo*, 1923, pp. 77-79.

<sup>51</sup> Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Suicide*, 1929.

<sup>52</sup> Also, see C. F. Schmid, *Suicides in Seattle, 1914 to 1925*, University of Washington Press, 1928, for an application of the crisis concept in the study of suicide.

<sup>53</sup> Queen and Mann make a similar use of the crisis concept in their treatment of maladjustment. See their *Social Pathology*, 1925, pp. 17, 661. Also, see P. V. and E. F. Young, "Mutations of Personality," *Jr. of App. Soc.*, IX (1925), 442-49 for the discussion of a case of blindness as a loss of status crisis.

<sup>54</sup> E. B. Harper, *The Socioanalysis of Character*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Chicago, 1922. (See also E. N. Simpson, *Wishes: A Study in Social Psychology*, 1926, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Chicago.)

<sup>55</sup> E. T. Krueger, *Autobiographical Documents and Personality*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Chicago, 1926. (See also Krueger and Reckless, *Social Psychology*, 1931.)

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358.

<sup>44</sup> Kimball Young (ed.), *Social Attitudes*, 1931.

<sup>45</sup> "The Concept of Social Attitudes," *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>47</sup> "Attitudes and the Redirection of Behavior," *op. cit.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>49</sup> "Group Crises Produced by Voluntary Undertakings." *Op. cit.* See p. 265.

sonality and the formation and change of attitudes in the personality.

A survey of the literature included in this summary seems to warrant the following conclusions: (1) Though dealing with varied behavior manifestations and using a diverse terminology, these studies possess descriptive and conclusional uniformity which indicates that the same general psychological process is involved in all of the types of behavior considered. (2) The crisis process consists of a blocking of the direction of behavior, or a disturbance of the equilibrium in an individual, which gives rise to adjustive responses in various degrees of intensity, depending upon the severity of the blocking or its duration. Emotion is aroused, thinking or random effort is set up, and the behavior may lapse into that of depression or agitation. If and when behavior having adjustment value occurs, joy or elation is felt, followed by the resumption of relative equilibrium. (Dewey, Bernard, Janet.) A change in attitude has taken place—that is, the basis for subsequent reactions is altered. (3) The occurrence, frequency, and specific types of crisis must be understood with reference to

the cultural setting in which the individual circulates. (Draghicesco, Parsons, Mead.) Physiological changes are elements of crisis only when they are regarded in a certain light by a group of which the individual is a member. (Hollingworth, Allport.) Personality conflicts relate ultimately to group backgrounds. (4) The crisis-creating effect of any event can be understood only with reference to the previous experience of the individual.

The chief aim of any science is to bring the broadest range of data possible within one brief formula. It is therefore suggested here that personality changes may be viewed in terms of crises. Situations constantly arise in the life history of the individual which have conflict-creating effects. Adjustments result in the formation of new habits and attitudes which make up the personality. Individual psychologists may object that this process is taken care of by the concept "conditioning." But "crisis" is more meaningful when referring to person-group relations in that it conveys more adequately the notion of the whole organism making adjustments to the total situation, where status is involved.

Professor Jerome Davis, head of the section on the Sociology of Religion for next year, calls for all who are making any research in this field. The general topic for the section is "Religion and Social Action." Any one who has done research in this field or would like to prepare a paper for presentation at the American Sociological Society meetings next December, should write to Professor Jerome Davis, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn., before April 15, enclosing an outline of his projected research or his manuscript. All such letters will be considered in making out the final program.

## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS OF BLIND RELIEF LEGISLATION

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#### INTRODUCTION

SINCE the close of the World War much social and political theory, formerly regarded as visionary, impractical, or subversive, has been incorporated into the social and governmental structure of many lands. Problems have become more acute and issues more clearly drawn. Any weakness in the structure of our increasingly complicated society may momentarily become the proverbial link upon which depends the strength of the entire chain.

The problem of the underprivileged has ever been the concern of the ethically minded, whose task was eased by the efforts of those prompted by motives less noble and more practical—the individuals seeking social recognition or heavenly reward. Thus the lame, the halt, and the blind, the sick, the feeble-minded, the wayward, the aged, the widowed and the orphaned, for many centuries have been and for the most part, still are the *raison d'être* for some and a social ladder for others.

Ironic as such a rôle might be, it would have possibly been tolerable if the efforts of those concerned in the welfare or dependents had been more or less adequate. Their work, with but few exceptions, must be characterized as amateurish, unsys-

tematic, uncoordinated, and wasteful. In a world striving for social efficiency, legislation of a preventive and remedial nature had to be the result.

In the mass of social legislation touching upon every conceivable social problem, that of the blind, restricted as it is to a small fraction of the general population, received but scant attention. None the less, the new era has not left the sightless without their share of representation in the new approach to social problems.

#### THE BLIND IN SOCIETY

The present essay purports to discuss the scope and tendencies of relief legislation for the blind in a number of countries<sup>1</sup> having a population of 2500 sightless or more. The statistics have been drawn chiefly from figures compiled by the Health Organization of the League of Nations<sup>2</sup> from official government reports and other relatively dependable sources.

<sup>1</sup> Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia, Egypt, England and Wales, Finland, Formosa, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Philippine Islands, Poland, Russia, Scotland, Sweden, Union of South Africa, and the United States of America.

<sup>2</sup> Report on the Welfare of the Blind in Various Countries, League of Nations Health Organization, Official No. C. H. 818, Geneva, September 1929.

In the countries listed in Table I, the prevalence of blindness ranges from 36 to

TABLE I  
COUNTRIES WITH 2500 OR MORE BLIND\*

COUNTRY	YEAR OF CENSUS	NUMBER OF BLIND	NUMBER PER 100,000 POPULATION
Argentina.....	1914	6,857	87
Australia.....	1921	3,154	58
Austria.....	1910	4,581	72
Belgium.....	1922	2,778	36
Bulgaria.....	1910	4,485	103
Canada.....	1927	4,712	49
Czecho-Slovakia.....	1926	7,000	48
Egypt.....	1917	155,511	1,219
England and Wales.....	1927	46,822	119
Finland.....	1900	3,229	119
Formosa.....	1905	15,675	515
France.....	1911	28,945	73
Germany.....	1925	34,703	58
Greece.....	1920	5,384	107
Hungary.....	1920	5,783	72
India.....	1921	479,637	150
Irish Free State.....	1911	3,250	103
Italy.....	1911	28,211	81
Japan (exclusive of Tokio and eight prefectures).....	1928	51,874	105
Latvia.....	1920	3,588	224
Netherlands.....	1920	3,822	55
Norway.....	1920	2,687	101
Philippine Islands.....	1918	8,667	84
Poland.....	1921	16,144	64
Russia, European.....	1897	207,368	201
U. S. S. R.....	1926	335,000	158
Scotland.....	1927	6,939	141
Sweden.....	1920	3,090	52
Union of South Africa.....	1911	6,550	109
U. S. A.....	1930	63,489	52

\* Figures for U. S. S. R. taken from World Conference on Work for the Blind, American Foundation for the Blind, New York, 1931, p. 505. Figures for the U. S. A. taken from U. S. census of the blind, 1930, p. 9. All the other figures are taken from Health Organization Report on the Blind, League of Nations, 1929, p. 92.

every 100,000 general population in Belgium, to 1219 to every 100,000 in Egypt.

Over the entire area here treated, blindness occurs in approximately 100 cases to every 100,000 population or 0.1 per cent.

In 1910 the United States Census Bureau attempted a very rough estimate of the total blind of the world at 2,390,000, but added "probably this is an underestimate, as those regions not covered by a census are in a large part inhabited by uncivilized or

TABLE II  
BLIND POPULATION IN UNITED STATES 10 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SEX AND OCCUPATION\*

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry.....	864	84	948
Extraction of Minerals.....	12	0	12
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries.....	2,470	620	3,090
Transportation.....	92	18	110
Trade.....	1,230	34	1,264
Public Service.....	28	6	34
Professional Services.....	751	254	1,005
Domestic and Personal Service.....	225	168	393
Clerical Occupations.....	207	74	281
Unclassifiable as to Occupation.....	28	12	40
Totals.....	5,907	1,270	7,177
Not Gainfully Employed.....	17,344	15,115	32,459
Total of Employed and Unemployed Blind.....	23,251	16,385	39,636

\* U. S. Census, *The Blind in the U. S.*, 1920, p. 67. In England the proportion of employed blind is somewhat larger.

backward races, among whom blindness is likely to be more prevalent than it is where civilization is further advanced."<sup>3</sup> Later estimates put the figure at 6,000,000, which might probably be correct if the test be "industrial blindness."

Economically the blind may be divided into two main classes, the larger being

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Census in *The Blind in the U. S.*, 1920, p. 11.



those of low mental development or with an additional handicap, incapable of being trained for any gainful occupation. The others are but partly self-supporting and, for the most part, employed in so-called sheltered workshops maintained by private charitable organizations or government subsidies. Relatively only a small percentage of the blind ever attain full economic independence. This number is rather thinly distributed among the several professions and in industrial and commercial pursuits.

TABLE III

ANALYSIS OF THE BLIND OVER 16 YEARS OF AGE AS TO  
EMPLOYABILITY OR TRAINABILITY\*

Employed.....	9,548
Trained but unemployed.....	366
Undertrained.....	1,876
Trainable.....	678
Unemployable.....	37,563
Employed or employable.....	12,468
Unemployable.....	37,563
Total.....	50,031

\* Eighth Report of the Advisory Committee on the Blind to the Minister of Health, London, 1930, p. 31.

The Health Organization of the League of Nations on the welfare of the blind in 1929<sup>4</sup> stated:

In Great Britain where the blind have been carefully classified, two out of every three blind persons are classified as unemployable, so that there are twice as many blind to be cared for who cannot be usefully trained or employed as those who can. In Great Britain, the great majority of the unemployable blind are over 50 years of age, the age beyond which blind persons are usually found to be unable to learn a trade or to undertake remunerative employment. . . . There is no reason to believe that the relative number of unemployable blind in Great Britain is exceptional, as the statistics of other countries generally show at least as high a proportion of blind persons over 50

years of age as in Great Britain. Numerically therefore, the problem of the unemployable blind is the greatest of all.

Figures taken from the report to the British Ministry of Health for 1929 show that the proportion of employable blind in Great Britain is somewhat exaggerated in the above quotation. 12,468 of a total of 50,031 are either employed or employable, indicating that three out of four rather than "two out of three blind persons are classified as unemployable."

In the United States the situation is somewhat worse. Of the total blind population in 1920 ten years of age and over, of 39,636 only 7,177 were employed. No figures of unemployed but employable or trainable blind are available. In other countries, and in less industrial regions, the number of employable blind is markedly smaller.

#### TREND FROM PRIVATE CHARITY TO PUBLIC WELFARE

As only a handful of sightless attain economic independence, the vast majority must resort to the various social service agencies. Organizations for the welfare of the blind are found mainly in large communities where the blind constitute an appreciable colony, and where their presence draws attention to their dependence on society. The treasuries of charitable and welfare organizations must be replenished yearly from voluntary contributions, necessitating reminders of the hopeless destitution and dependence of the blind. Necessary as periodic appeals for funds are, they militate, nevertheless, against the best interests of society and the blind. It seems paradoxical to stress the helplessness of the blind and then to attempt to place the blind in industry on a competitive scale. Employers who read appeals for funds enlarging upon the helplessness of the blind, can hardly be expected to open their

<sup>4</sup> *Vide*, p. 64.

plants to a blind worker regardless of the latter's training and ability.

Another grave objection to private charities is their tendency to overlap. In this connection, the Advisory Committee on the Welfare of the Blind in Great Britain says the following:<sup>5</sup> "Cases have been brought to our notice where there has been a lack of coöperation, with the result that not only has the future of the blind been seriously jeopardized, but the heavy cost of educating him and training him has been very largely wasted."

Another important criticism must be mentioned. All privately organized welfare agencies naturally work with the larger groups of blind in the cities, neglecting the appreciable number of blind in the sparsely settled communities, where such blind do without the assistance of specially trained social workers and educators.

But the most significant criticism of privately supported welfare agencies is their inability to withstand the stress accompanying economic dislocation. Depending on voluntary contributions, their resources diminish markedly with the falling income of contributors, while demands for assistance increase. Since 1929, unlike the public welfare departments of all large cities in the United States, the private organizations for the blind radically curtailed their budgets instead of increasing them.

In 1929 the City of New York<sup>6</sup> received and expended for all purposes nearly a billion and a half dollars. In that same year the private social agencies expended \$45,288,965 received from private funds and \$8,359,425 from public funds. The

amount received from private sources was, therefore, a little more than 3 per cent of the city's expenditures, or about 7 per cent of the total amount received by the city in taxes (\$628,791,000). "The budgets of certain of our large cities," says Dr. Sydnor H. Walker<sup>7</sup> "are already so great that the taking over of all private social work does not seem impossible. . . ."

The social inadequacy of private charity could no longer be overlooked. Legislation formerly regarded as visionary, impractical, or subversive has come to be regarded as socially indispensable. The trend from private charity to public welfare has become apparent on every hand.

Dr. Walker, in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*,<sup>8</sup> formulates the new point of view as follows:

Three criteria are suggested as bearing upon the transfer of social welfare activities from private to public funds. First, has a satisfactory method of dealing with a social situation been found? Second, is it legitimate that the public be required to assume this burden? Third, are there provisions for the satisfactory public administration of the responsibilities involved? Quite evidently these criteria are not easily met, since each raises questions hard to answer. In regard to the first, a relatively satisfactory way of dealing with various existing social situations has been found. In connection with the second question, if the situation is persistent and seems the result of forces which cannot be controlled by direct attack, the obligation of the general community to give financial support voluntarily or by taxation, may be assumed.

An emphatic "Yes" can be the only answer to these questions as far as the blind are concerned. They fully meet this test.

#### EXISTING STANDARDS OF BLIND RELIEF

Among the several schemes of relief granted to blind by the state, two main types may be distinguished, the most common being the Lump-Sum type.

<sup>5</sup> Fourth Annual Report to the Ministry of Health, 1923, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> N. Y. Welfare Council Research Bureau, Financial Trend in Organized Private Social Work in N. Y. C., N. Y., 1932.

<sup>7</sup> *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 1197.

<sup>8</sup> P. 1197.

In Australia a pension of 20s. per week is paid to all blind and disabled persons over sixteen years of age who are permanently incapacitated from earning a living if they are in indigent circumstances.<sup>9</sup> Normally the pension is granted to most blind persons even though employed and earning wages, as the income limit for blind persons including pension is 4£ 12s. 6d. per week or such other amount as is declared to be a basic wage.

In Denmark under the Disablement Insurance Law of 1921<sup>10</sup> all disabled persons including the blind whose productive capacity is reduced to one-third or less, become entitled to an annual grant. It is stated that very few of the blind in this country are not in receipt of a disablement annuity.

In Illinois<sup>11</sup> the law makes it mandatory upon counties to grant a benefit of \$365 a year to any blind person of legal age who is single, has an annual income of not over \$465, or who, if married, has together with his or her spouse, a total income of not over \$1000 a year and who has lived in the state continuously for 10 years and in the county for 3 years.

The Lump-Sum type of relief exists in a number of our states and in several European countries. The most eloquent comment on this type of relief comes from Mrs. Mary L. Silvis, Assistant Director of the State Department of Public Welfare of Illinois.<sup>12</sup>

The law makes no distinction between a blind person who is needy and one who, while not enjoying a stated income, is nevertheless living at home with his or her family and enjoying all the comforts of

life. Recently two women, both totally blind, . . . made application for blind relief. One was the daughter of a man of considerable means . . . \$40,000. . . . The other applicant was the daughter of a man who had no home, no money, and no job. Both were paid a pension.

Somewhat less common than the Lump-Sum type of relief legislation is the Augmentation-Scheme, intended primarily for those who are partly self-supporting; but in many instances, however, paid to unemployable blind.

Three categories of relief may be subsumed under this type:

(a) A fixed amount of money is added to the blind person's income irrespective of his earnings. In some London workshops<sup>13</sup> the amount of 15 s. a week is added by way of augmentation. In Czecho-Slovakia and Luxembourg<sup>14</sup> workers are given free board and room, and are allowed to keep their earnings.

(b) A more common type of augmentation is determined on a sliding scale decreasing as earnings increase. This method is in practice in England and Wales.<sup>15</sup>

(c) Augmentation fixed at a certain percentage of earnings. Under this scheme, A who earns \$10 a week, will get an augmentation of \$2.50, while B, whose earnings amount to \$5 a week, will get only \$1.25. It will be noticed that this scheme is the exact opposite of (b), and is in practice in New Zealand and Massachusetts.<sup>16</sup>

The antithetical character of (b) and (c) indicates that there is no uniformity of approach to the question of method. Not one of these schemes questions the specific needs of the blind person or the state in which he lives. Since relief under the

<sup>9</sup> Health Organization Report to the League of Nations, p. 66.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Irwin and McKay, *Blind Relief Laws in the U. S.*, American Foundation for the Blind, 1929, p. 52.

<sup>12</sup> Welfare Bulletin of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare, February 1933.

<sup>13</sup> Health Organization Report to the League of Nations, p. 61.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

above forms is given to all blind persons where such relief is mandatory, it must be concluded that the relief does not really help the blind person become adequately adjusted to his social environment.

#### A PROPOSED STANDARD FOR BLIND RELIEF LEGISLATION

The primary purpose of all relief legislation is to relieve the economic stress of an individual or a family.<sup>17</sup> To do this it must be determined whether or not economic stress exists. The inability on the part of a blind person to follow gainful employment is not *prima facie* evidence of the existence of such stress.

After the real existence of economic stress has been established, another exacting problem arises—namely, the extent of such stress. What are the needs of the situation in question and what is necessary in order to bring about a more or less adequate adjustment?

Barring certain types of insurance indemnifying blindness and in the absence of savings and friends, blindness makes it imperative to resort to relief until such time as the person can be re-educated for a gainful occupation. It is clear that a person accustomed to a higher standard of life would require a larger subsidy than one used to a lower standard. It may also happen that this person will have one or two dependents. It is clear that such an individual could not be expected to live on the same relief as allowed to a single person accustomed to simpler living conditions.

Indeed, the trend of modern social service is in the direction of adequate relief determined by the actual needs of the person in question. Social workers have long since abandoned, at least in theory, the giving of just enough to tide the recipi-

<sup>17</sup> Walker in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 1182.

ent "over to the next week's misery."<sup>18</sup> In 1925 Miss Nesbitt redefined her minimum requirements as "everything necessary for a standard of living that will make possible a high standard of physical, mental and moral health and efficiency for adults, the full physical and mental growth and development of children, and provision for their moral welfare."<sup>19</sup>

Opponents of all progressive social legislation often express the fear that such laws will rob their beneficiaries of initiative and self-reliance. In point of fact, adequate relief laws for the blind, if wisely administered, can serve only to build up their morale and make of them dignified and self-reliant members of a well integrated and interdependent social unit. Says Mr. George Danby, Manager of the Royal Glasgow Asylum for the Blind:<sup>20</sup>

In 1926 a pension scheme was introduced which entitled blind workers at the age of fifty years, with ten years service (inclusive of the apprenticeship period), to claim a pension of 25s. weekly for males, and 15s. weekly for females. This, with their blind pension of 10s. weekly, gave them an income of 35s. and 25s. respectively. This privilege was not taken advantage of . . . men between sixty and seventy . . . continuing work and occupying room that was required for younger people. In 1929 the committee decided that retirement should be compulsory at the age of fifty-five years.

But how can the true need of the applicant for blind relief be determined? Only by a well-trained and competent social case worker. In *Recent Social Trends in the United States*,<sup>21</sup> Dr. Walker says:

The foremost in importance of the general trend in social work during the last quarter century is the

<sup>18</sup> *The Long View*, Chapter on Adequate Relief, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1930, pp. 326-8.

<sup>19</sup> Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, Chicago Standard Budget for Dependent Families, Bulletin No. 5, 2nd revised edition, 1925.

<sup>20</sup> World Conference on the Blind, *Proceedings*, 1932, p. 148 ff.

<sup>21</sup> P. 1170.



development of individualized treatment . . . case work . . . in a number of situations. The social case worker undertakes the adjustment of the individual to his environment by assembling and analyzing all information available about his present situation by planning a method of handling this situation. . . . Re-education of the client himself may be necessary, and to this end the case worker seeks a relationship with the client based upon understanding and confidence.

The employment of a social case worker in connection with blind relief laws would not necessarily mean a larger expenditure of funds. As Mrs. Silvis testifies,<sup>22</sup> many applications for relief should and would be refused if proper investigation were made of the circumstances surrounding each application. But even increased expenditure by the government should not militate against the adoption of such a measure, for social efficiency must be the only criterion for determining the worth of a proposed measure.

Already the more positive attitude toward the problems of the blind in recent years has produced favorable results. Educational facilities and adequate relief laws have materially reduced mendicancy and enforced idleness.<sup>23</sup> The blind everywhere are beginning to regard themselves as legitimate members of society.

Recognizing that numerous social, economic, cultural, and climatic conditions determining blindness cannot be accounted for by legislation for the blind, it is yet interesting to note the definite relationship existing between the adequacy and inadequacy of relief legislation and the corresponding prevalence of blindness in the countries given in Table IV.

It will be noted that in Group A where blindness is least prevalent legislation is either Specific or General; in Group B with a greater prevalence of blindness, two

TABLE IV

COUNTRIES WITH 2,500 OR MORE BLIND, CLASSIFIED AS TO TYPE OF LEGISLATION OBTAINING IN EACH (SPECIFIC, GENERAL, OR NONE) DIVIDED INTO THREE GROUPS\*

COUNTRY	TYPE OF LEGISLATION	RATIO OF BLIND PER 100,000 GENERAL POPULATION
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Group A (36 to 74 blind per 100,000 general population)

Belgium.....	General	36
Czecho-Slovakia.....	General	48
New Zealand.....	Specific	48
Canada.....	General	49
U. S. A.....	Specific in 20 states, general in all the rest	52
Sweden.....	General	52
Netherlands.....	General	55
Australia.....	Specific	58
Germany.....	General	58
Poland.....	General	64
Austria.....	General	72
Hungary.....	General	72
France.....	General	73

Group B (75 to 124 blind per 100,000 general population)

Italy.....	General	81
Philippine Islands.....	None	84
Argentina.....	None	87
Norway.....	General	101
Bulgaria.....	None	103
Irish Free State.....	Specific	103
Japan.....	None	105
Greece.....	None	107
Union of South Africa.....	None	109
Finland.....	None	119
England and Wales.....	Specific	119

Group C (125+ blind per 100,000 general population)

Scotland.....	General	141
India.....	None	150
U. S. S. R.....	General	158
Russia (1897).....	None	201

<sup>22</sup> *Supra*, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> Health Organization Report on the Blind, League of Nations, p. 73.

TABLE IV—*Concluded*

COUNTRY	TYPE OF LEGISLATION	RATIO OF BLIND PER 100,000 GENERAL POPULATION
GROUP C (125+ blind per 100,000 general population)— <i>Concluded</i>		
Latvia.....	None	224
Formosa.....	None	515
Egypt.....	None	1,219

\* Specific Relief Legislation" takes into account the special needs of the blind. "General" is legislation in which the blind may share but which is intended to meet the needs of a large and inclusive group of dependents.

countries have the Specific type of legislation, two the General, and all the rest none; in the third group with the highest ratio of blindness, only two countries have the General type of legislation while all the rest have none.

The table is not intended to show any definite correlation between the prevalence of blindness and the existence of adequate relief laws. It is an index of the concern of society for its blind. In communities where social responsibility is highly developed, blindness will undoubtedly tend to decrease.

Society's concern for the blind seems to have found a new and promising expression. What should be the goal of this type of social legislation? M. Paul Guinot formulates it as follows:<sup>24</sup>

In the first place, the state must recognize the legal right of the blind person to be protected by society; to be respected as an individual; to receive just compensation for the burden and expense his handicap involves.

Human sympathy has always been aroused by the

unfortunate life of those who naturally or accidentally have lost the invaluable gift of sight. In several countries . . . legislation . . . grants financial compensation to blind persons whose plight it is to earn less and to spend more than the seeing.

But, up to now, no country has established a law for the blind, neither has it set forth, in legal text, the duty of society in respect to the sightless. The obligation rests on us, in every country, to say whether the blind, deprived . . . of an indispensable sense, have the right to live a normal life. Not to give them this chance . . . is to become the silent accomplice of a crime! Not daring to kill the blind, one would nevertheless leave them half dead, in a shameful condition and on the verge of starvation. . . .

It is to put an end to this that we demand from all governments definite commitments on this matter. The problem they have to solve is no longer merely one of humanity; it is a deeply moral question requiring from governments, for the sake of their own honor, a reasonable, intelligent solution, both immediate and final.

#### SUMMARY

Blindness appears to be one of the by-products of life itself. While its prevalence can undoubtedly be materially reduced through improved and more widely accessible medical service and through the greater social control of industry and its incidents, blindness will in all likelihood always remain a social problem.

This aspect of blindness gives it the status of a definite and clearly defined social situation demanding a positive policy on the part of society. In the light of the growing social responsibility of society to its weaker members, the blind are no longer regarded merely as objects of charity. In cases where the blind are trainable, they are taught a useful occupation and thus made self-supporting and self-respecting members of the community. And with regard to the blind ordinarily classified as "unemployable," private charity is slowly giving way to a feeling of public responsibility taking the form of an inclusive program of relief administered by the government to all dependent classes.

<sup>24</sup> World Conference on the Blind, *Proceedings*, 1932, p. 340 ff.

Blind relief laws, with but very few exceptions, have been enacted only since the close of the World War and have been restricted mainly to the English-speaking countries. These laws have not always been successfully administered. The tendency is to treat all blind with a dead uniformity.

To make these relief laws more effective, an individualized treatment of each blind person must be introduced. The trained social case worker who becomes acquainted with the informal background of the applicant, his education, his past

experience, his social contacts, and his personal outlook, will be more qualified to judge how much and what kind of relief should be allowed than is the best-intentioned official who hasn't become familiar with such facts.

Blind relief legislation is still in its infancy. The few scattered enactments found here and there are limited both in quantity and quality. None the less, they are indicative of a new and growing attitude that some day will be translated into a positive social policy toward blindness and the blind.

President R. R. Moton of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute has released the following information concerning lynchings for the year 1934.

According to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of the Tuskegee Institute, there were 15 persons lynched in 1934. This is 13 less than the number 28 for 1933; 7 more than the number 8 for 1932; 2 more than the number 13 for 1931; and 6 less than the number 21 for 1930. Eight of the persons lynched were in the hands of the law; 3 were taken from jails and 5 from officers of the law outside of jails.

There were 51 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. Seven of these were in northern and western states and 44 in southern states. In 46 of the instances the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. In the 5 other instances, armed force was used to repel the would-be lynchers. A total of 74 persons, 14 white men, 57 Negro men and 3 Negro women, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Of the 15 persons lynched, all were Negroes. The offenses charged were: attempted rape, 4; rape, 2; murder, 2; wounding man in altercation, 1; associating with white woman, 1; striking man, 1; writing insulting letter, 1; talking disrespectfully, 1; insulting women, 1; implicating others in a charge of stealing turpentine and bootlegging it, 1.

The states in which lynchings occurred and the number in each state are as follows: Alabama, 1; Florida, 2; Georgia, 1; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 2; Mississippi, 6; Tennessee, 1; and Texas, 1.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### ONE HUNDRED JUVENILE MARRIAGES

ETHEL ROGERS

*University of Pennsylvania*

#### NOT A NEW PROBLEM

ONE of the problems that have become acute during the recent period of unemployment and public relief is that of juvenile marriages, marriages in which the wife at least, and frequently the husband also, has not attained the age of legal majority.

The boy under twenty-one years of age who, without a man's strength or training, has assumed the responsibility of supporting a family finds himself frequently in pitiable plight. He cannot get work. Even the escape of the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp is denied him. No less difficult is the rôle of the girl from twelve to twenty years of age who has married expecting a home of her own, only to find herself an unwelcome member of a crowded household, or a ward of charity during the most crucial period of her life.

Since the present economic situation has left many of these young people with their babies, born or unborn, upon the doorstep of the average citizen for support, there is a new stimulus to investigation from the viewpoint of society as well as of the individual.

Like many other depression symptoms, however, this by no means indicates a new condition nor one that has been unknown

to students of social science. Under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation an analysis of the question was published in 1925 in the volume, *Child Marriages*, by Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall; later findings appearing in *Marriage and the State*, by the same authors. Both of these volumes indicated serious defects in the various state laws and their enforcement, with oftentimes tragic results. Better procedures were described where found, methods of cooperation with public authorities were suggested, and further study of the problem was urged on the part of local communities.<sup>1</sup>

#### A NEW APPROACH

The present study, it is believed, approaches the subject from a slightly new angle, that of a junior employment office. There is perhaps no place where the problems of youth are seen in sharper focus than at the gateway from school into industry; but aside from furnishing the

<sup>1</sup> See also the data on age at marriage in Ernest R. Groves and William F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1928); Hornell Hart and Wilmer Shields, "Happiness in Relation to Age in Marriage," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XII, No. 7 (October, 1926), 403-8; and reports on Marriage Statistics, New York State, Department of Health, Albany, New York.



impetus, the employment office proves a good source for a study of juvenile marriages for several reasons:

1. *Accuracy as to facts.* The age of the young people is the most important starting point for a study of this kind, and on this item the records of a junior employment office are clear. Documentary evidence of age is on file for a large percentage of individuals included in this study.

2. *A representative group.* The group is selected for no especial factor except the desire for a job. It is composed chiefly of the industrial class in which, if anywhere, early marriage is the norm.<sup>2</sup> Neither success nor failure is a foregone conclusion in these marriages.

3. *School and family history.* The records of an employment office furnish data on the home situation and the family background from which some light should be obtained as to the causes and results of these early ventures in matrimony.

4. *Comparison with employment trends.* Occupational opportunities bear close relation to the economic security of the family. Changes in the extent of employment available for young people within a given period may well be taken into consideration as one of the factors in determining the age at which marriage may be considered safe or desirable.

#### THE GROUP STUDIED

The cases included in this study consist of one hundred couples, of which one or both parties applied to the Junior Employment Service of the School District of Philadelphia during six months' period from November 1, 1932, to April 30, 1933. This service is under the direction of the Division of Compulsory Education and is open without charge to all young persons

under twenty-one years of age. The study includes all who applied during this period who were known to be married, with the exception of five rejected on account of insufficient information.

#### DIVISION BY AGE OF WIFE

The state labor law of Pennsylvania and the state marriage law happen to agree upon sixteen years as the minimum age for both sexes. Below this age a court order is required for marriage, and an employment certificate or a domestic exemption for leaving school. As all employment and domestic exemption certificates are issued by the Junior Employment Service, the figures for the group under 16 years of age are more complete than for the older group, whose visits were entirely voluntary. Practically all the marriages of girls under 16 known to the school authorities during the period, are included. Both because of the line drawn here by the state laws and because of the difference in completeness of figures, the two age groups have been analyzed separately as well as in combination in all the tables. A discussion of the significant differences between the two groups is reserved for one of the concluding paragraphs.

The usual practice has been followed, that of classifying these marriages according to the age of the wife, though we do not ignore the problems of the frequently almost as juvenile husband.

#### SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Information was obtained for 80 of the 100 couples by special interviews in which the employment counselor used a special schedule in addition to the usual employment application blank. For 63 couples the wife alone was interviewed, for 14 the husband alone, and for 3 both husband and wife. As records were obtained from three local offices it was

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frank W. Notestein, "Differential Age at Marriage According to Social Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII, No. 1 (July, 1931), 22-49.

impossible to arrange a special interview with the 20 remaining, whose schedules were filled out from their employment applications. After the husband or wife had been interviewed, files were searched for a previous record of the other party, which was often found. Each family was cleared through the Social Service Exchange. Records of social agencies, particularly the Philadelphia County Relief Board and the Municipal Court of Domestic Relations, were consulted. Case records for all the girls under 16 years of age were available through the Social Service Department of the Board of Education.

TABLE I  
RACE OF COUPLES

AGE OF WIFE	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Over 16.....	56	100	46	82	10	18
Under 16.....	44	100	35	79	9	21
Total.....	100	100	81	81	19	19

Practically all marriage license records were verified. This was done by personal visitation to the three license centers covering the largest numbers: Philadelphia, Pa., Media, Pa., and Elkton, Md. Others were reached by mail.

#### RACE AND NATIONALITY

Eighty-one of the couples were white, 19 black. This shows a slightly higher proportion of Negroes than that of the entire school population.<sup>3</sup>

Of the 81 white couples, the nationality grouping (Table II) shows that at least 55 of the husbands and 78 of the wives were

<sup>3</sup> The School Census Report for 1932, covering children 6-16 years of age in Philadelphia, gives 304,125 white and 38,149 Negro, a proportion of 89 to 11.

native born, but only 22 of the husbands and 45 of the wives were known to be of native parentage. Thirty-two of the husbands were known to be of foreign-born parentage as against 29 of the wives. (Mixed parentage was counted as foreign.) The parentage of 27 of the men was unknown.

So much mixture of races was found, both among the young people and their parents, that it is difficult to tabulate proportions, but there was a predominance

TABLE II  
A. NATIONALITY OF WHITE PERSONS

AGE OF WIFE	HUSBANDS				WIVES			
	Total	U. S.	Others	Unknown	Total	U. S.	Others	Unknown
Over 16.....	46	36	3	7	46	43	2	1
Under 16.....	35	19	7	9	35	35	0	0
Total.....	81	55	10	16	81	78	2	1

#### B. NATIONALITY OF PARENTS OF WHITE PERSONS

AGE OF WIFE	PARENTS OF HUSBANDS				PARENTS OF WIVES			
	Total	U. S.	Others	Unknown	Total	U. S.	Others	Unknown
Over 16.....	46	14	19	13	46	27	14	5
Under 16.....	35	8	13	14	35	18	15	2
Total.....	81	22	32	27	81	45	29	7

of Polish and Italian, with smaller numbers of German, English and Irish, Austrian, Swiss, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Mexican, and Philippine. It is probable that the number of Italian wives would have been larger but for the national custom which keeps girls under close surveillance and away from public places after marriage.

#### RELIGION

The group includes, so far as known, no Jewish persons, although the Junior

Employment Service receives a fair proportion of Jewish applicants. Looking at couples, we find 20 Roman Catholic, 27 Protestant, 11 mixed, and 42 unknown. Of the wives alone, 42 were Roman Catholic, 52 Protestant, 6 unknown.

unknown. Of the wives, 1 was a high school graduate; 37 were from grades 8 to 11; 57 from the 7th or less. Trade training was found in so few cases and such small amounts as to be negligible.

It is interesting to note that 61 of the 200

TABLE III  
RELIGION BY COUPLES AND BY WIVES  
(Including both White and Negro)

AGE OF WIFE	COUPLES										WIVES							
	Total		Both Catholic		Both Protestant		Mixed		Unknown		Total		Catholic		Protestant		Unknown	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Over 16.....	56	100	11	20	23	41	4	07	18	32	56	100	21	38	32	57	3	05
Under 16.....	44	100	9	20	4	09	7	16	24	55	44	100	21	48	20	45	3	07
Total.....	100	100	19	19	27	27	11	11	42	42	100	100	42	42	52	52	6	06

TABLE IV  
A. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HUSBANDS

AGE OF WIFE	GRADE COMPLETED					LEFT SCHOOL BEFORE 16
	Total	7 or less	8-11	12	Unknown	
Over 16.....	56	19	12	1	24	15
Under 16.....	44	11	3	2	28	6
Total.....	100	30	15	3	52	21

B. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF WIVES

AGE OF WIFE	GRADE COMPLETED					LEFT SCHOOL BEFORE 16
	Total	7 or less	8-11	12	Unknown	
Over 16.....	56	32	19	1	4	25
Under 16.....	44	25	18	0	1	15
Total.....	100	57	37	1	5	40

#### EDUCATION

The group as a whole had low educational attainment. Of the husbands, 3 had completed high school; 15, grades 8 to 11; 30, the 7th or less; and 52 were

young persons had been employed before they were 16 years of age, as shown by employment certificate records.

#### AGES

The ages of the girls ranged from 12 to 24 years, those of the boys as nearly as could be determined from 17 to 30. The median age for husbands was 19.83 years; for wives 15.75 years. The correlation of ages is shown in Table V.

#### OBTAINING THE MARRIAGE LICENSE

It is a well known fact that young people who marry early frequently do so without the knowledge and consent of their parents. In Pennsylvania this can be accomplished only by claiming at the license bureau that both parties are past twenty-one, the presence of a parent being required up to this limit. A sworn statement is accepted without evidence unless the license clerk chooses to insist upon it.

There are also cases where the girl is under 16 years of age in which the parent gives consent, but makes an affidavit show-

ing the girl's age as over 16, thus helping to evade the requirement for a court order.

The extent of both these forms of deception may be measured fairly accurately in the small group from which this study was made, as the age of 88 wives and 32 husbands has been established by documentary evidence. The proof was obtained according to the regulations laid down by the

for employment, on account of the well known standards of the Service and the absence of motive for understatement.

The indications from the group of husbands whose ages were proved is that overstatement is almost as common here as among the wives, though less in degree because the husband is usually a few years older. Table VII shows the overstate-

TABLE V  
CORRELATION OF AGES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES AT MARRIAGE

AGE OF WIVES	AGES OF HUSBANDS																				Unknown	Total
	11	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30			
12									1												1	
13											2	1									3	
14								2	1	2		1	1	1							12	
15							3	3	7	4	2		2	1	1		1		1	4	28	
16						1	2	1	3	1											8	
17							3	2	4	3	2	1	1	1	2						19	
18							4	3	2	3		1	1	1	1					2	18	
19							1	3			1									1	6	
20									1			1					1			1	4	
21																						
22																						
23																						
24									1												1	
25																						
26																						
27																						
28																						
29																						
30																						
Total						1	13	14	20	13	7	5	5	4	4	1	1		1	11	100	

Mean age of wives, 16.32. Mean age of husbands, 20.99.

Median age of wives, 15.75. Median age of husbands, 19.83.

State Department of Education for the issuance of employment certificates.<sup>4</sup> In a considerable number of other cases we may accept the age stated when applying

<sup>4</sup> The evidence required is as follows: (1) A birth record; (2) If no birth record can be found (a) A baptismal certificate, (b) A passport, (c) Other documentary evidence; (3) A physical examination with affidavit of parent or guardian.

ment of age for both sexes in the cases in which we have exact proof of age, supplemented by verification of date of the marriage license. The median variation from correct age for husbands is 2 years; for wives, 2.89 years. The extreme case is that of a girl of 12 who passed as 21 when obtaining her marriage license.

The well known marriage market towns



of the vicinity attract a considerable percentage of young people who definitely plan to falsify their ages, the local office in Philadelphia being more inclined to question the statement made and to require proof in doubtful cases. Tested, however, as to whether licenses have been issued in every respect in strict compliance with legal requirements, no one office has a perfect record when the actual age of the

the mind is that sexual relations may already have taken place or would take place irregularly if marriage were refused. As to the first proposition, information was carefully sought in these cases. Evidence was obtained from several sources: the admission of applicants when inter-

TABLE VI  
A. EVIDENCE OF AGE FOR HUSBANDS

AGE OF WIFE	TOTAL	NOT PROVED	PROVED				
			Total	Birth Record	Baptismal Certificate	Other	Jr. E. S.
Over 16.....	56	34	22	15	3	2	2
Under 16.....	44	34	10	8	1	1	0
Total.....	100	68	32	23	4	3	2

B. EVIDENCE OF AGE FOR WIVES

AGE OF WIFE	TOTAL	NOT PROVED	PROVED				
			Total	Birth Record	Baptismal Certificate	Other	Jr. E. S.
Over 16.....	56	12	44	25	8	2	10
Under 16.....	44	0	44	28	9	7	0
Total.....	100	12	88	53	17	9	10

party is known. Table VIII shows the relative accuracy of the various offices.

#### WHY THEY DO IT

What are the reasons leading these particular young people to enter the matrimonial state at an age so much earlier than the average?<sup>5</sup>

The first answer that usually occurs to

<sup>5</sup> Cf. James H. S. Bossard, *The Age Factor in Marriage*, University of Pennsylvania, 1931, which shows that the majority of marriages fall in the early twenties.

TABLE VII  
OVERSTATEMENT OF AGE IN PROVED CASES

YEARS	HUSBANDS			WIVES		
	Wife over 16	Wife under 16	Total	Over 16	Under 16	Total
0	4	0	4	7	0	7
1	2	0	2	1	8	9
2	4	1	5	2	2	4
3	4	1	5	3	6	9
4	3	2	5	2	3	5
5	1	0	1	4	2	6
6					6	6
7					8	8
8					1	1
9					1	1
Mean....	2.17	3.25	2.36	2.21	4.35	3.62
Median..	2.75	3	2	1.75	3.83	2.89

TABLE VIII  
LEGAL OR ILLEGAL ISSUANCE OF LICENSES

PLACE	ISSUED LEGALLY	ISSUED ILLEGALLY	UNKNOWN LEGAL OR ILLEGAL	TOTAL
Philadelphia.....	15	22		37
Media.....		23		23
Other Pennsylvania....	2	4	4	10
Other states.....		7	5	12
Place unknown.....			18	18
Total.....	17	56	27	100

viewed; calculation from the date of birth of first child as stated by applicant (with correction of date of marriage in some cases from license records); medical certificates for all cases of pregnancy presented by girls under 16 as an excuse from school attendance; and information from records

of social agencies. Allowing for errors and for cases of supposed pregnancy, miscarriage, or death of infant, the figures are probably not much lower than the actual facts would indicate. They show this condition to have affected 33 out of 100 marriages. In several cases it is known that the young people had postponed marriage on account of unemployment.

#### THE FAMILY BACKGROUND

In other cases the step seems to have been hastened by some irregularity in the home situation, expressed in such terms as "My stepfather was always finding fault with me," or "My parents were both dead and I was tired of living with first

TABLE IX  
FORCED MARRIAGES

AGE OF WIFE	TOTAL	FORCED	
		Number	Per cent
Over 16.....	56	14	25
Under 16.....	44	19	43
Total.....	100	33	33

one sister, then another." Of the 200 individuals involved in this study, 63 had lost one or both parents, 14 came of families, where separation had occurred, 19 families were registered with the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, 20 with the Municipal Court of Domestic Relations, and 7 with the Juvenile Court. These figures overlap in a number of cases.

If poverty be added as a factor (and the reason assigned by one girl for her marriage was "because he could give me clothes"), the fact must also be noted that many of these persons came from families close to the borderline of destitution. In the case of 42 couples, the parents of one or both were recipients of aid from the Philadelphia County Relief Board or other

public agency within a few years before or after the date of the marriage.<sup>6</sup> (See Table XII.)

#### JUDGING BY RESULTS

These marriages must ultimately be judged, like other actions, by their results. Most concrete of these results are the children. Table XI shows that 58 of the 100 couples reported either one or more children, or pregnancy of the wife at time of

TABLE X  
A. FAMILY SITUATION OF HUSBANDS

AGE OF WIFE	PARENTS BOTH LIVING	1 OR 2 DECEASED	SEPARATED	REGISTRATION		
				S. P. C. C.	M. C. D. R.	M. C. J.
Over 16.....	36	20	2	4	5	
Under 16.....	34	10	1	2	4	3
Total.....	70	30	3	6	9	3

#### B. FAMILY SITUATION OF WIVES

AGE OF WIFE	PARENTS BOTH LIVING	1 OR 2 DECEASED	SEPARATED	REGISTRATION		
				S. P. C. C.	M. C. D. R.	M. C. J.
Over 16.....	39	17	7	5	6	1
Under 16.....	26	16	4	8	5	3
Total.....	65	33	11	13	11	4
Total husbands and wives.....	135	63	14	19	20	7

interview. A total of 42 living children was reported from these unions, some of which were studied immediately after marriage, others after a period of one or more years.

Economic conditions were partly responsible for the fact that of these 100 couples, 21 had been separated at the date

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Report of the Philadelphia County Relief Board, showing 13 per cent of Philadelphia families as having received relief during February, 1933.

of interview. Sixty-seven were living together, the status of 12 was unknown. Seven of the 21 separations were caused by economic conditions, each party living with his or her own relatives until work could be found and a separate home established. In one of these cases the husband was in the Navy.

Five husbands had deserted their wives, 5 wives their husbands. Four other

These figures cover a good deal of distress resulting from the crowding of several families under one roof. Friction sometimes resulted in the young couple's being put out of one home only to fall back upon another which reluctantly took them in. Nowhere are the devastating effects of the depression upon home life more clearly marked than in these families that never had a chance to build even the foundations of stability.

Attitudes were found varying all the way from bitter regret over a step too hastily taken, through matter-of-fact acceptance of the situation, or a "good sport" determination to see it through, to cases of outspoken happiness and enthusiasm. A majority thought that if they could find work they could solve their problems.

A reflection of the changing economic

TABLE XI  
OFFSPRING OF MARRIAGES

AGE OF WIFE	COUPLES	TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN	NUMBER HAVING LIVING OR DECEASED	NUMBER HAVING 2 OR MORE	WIFE PREGNANT
Over 16.....	30	28	22	3	5
Under 16.....	28	14	12	1	15
Total.....	58	42	34	4	20

TABLE XII  
MARITAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF COUPLES

AGE OF WIFE	TOTAL	LIVING TOGETHER	SEPARATED					STATUS UNKNOWN	REGISTERED WITH M. C. D. E.	SELF-SUPPORTING	SUPPORTED BY RELATIVES	REGISTERED WITH P. CO. E. R. C.	PARENTS REGISTERED WITH P. CO. E. R. C.
			Total	Economic reasons	Wife deserted	Husband deserted	Other or unknown						
Over 16.....	56	34	13	4	4	2	3	9	9	7	22	23	18
Under 16.....	44	33	8	3	1	3	1	3	6	7	18	24	24
Total.....	100	67	21	7	5	5	4	12	15	14	40	47	42

couples were separated for reasons not clearly defined. Fifteen of the couples were registered with the Municipal Court of Domestic Relations.

Up to the date when the study closed, 42 couples had received aid from relief agencies (overlapping in some cases the 42 couples already mentioned whose parents received such aid); 40 of the couples were wholly or partly supported by relatives, 14 were self-supporting, and a few were aiding relatives.

situation and changing public opinion was seen in the reaction of a number who declared they did not intend to have "any children" or "any more children" until times were better.

#### OLDER AND YOUNGER GROUPS

On reviewing the two groups separately, one in which the wives are under 16 years of age, the other in which they are over 16 but under 21, we find several significant differences.

While none of the girls in the younger group is foreign-born (restriction of immigration enters in here) as against two foreign-born in the older group, the percentage of children of foreign-born parents is greater among the younger. Their husbands also show a preponderance of foreign-born and sons of foreign-born. The younger group shows a larger percentage of colored than the older, and a larger proportion of Roman Catholic couples and couples of mixed religion.

Educational standards are about the same for the two groups. The fact that a larger number of the older group had been employed before the age of 16 is explained by a reduction in employment of minors due to N.R.A. requirements.

Conditions of family life show little difference except that a larger number of the younger group come from families on rolls of relief organizations.

The most pointed difference between the two groups is that while pre-marital sex relations appear to have influenced 43 per cent of cases under 16 years of age, this is true of only 25 per cent above the 16-year age limit. This difference is too great to be entirely explained by the fact that more complete information is available regarding the younger girls.

Table V shows an interesting feature in the range of ages for girls, there being two modes, one at 17, the other at 15. This may be taken as support for a hypothesis indicated by the other facts stated, that 17 (or 18) is the normal age for marriage in this group where a more or less free choice is exerted; the marriage of the minor under 16 tending to a greater degree to be the result of foreign customs, ignorance, poverty, and sexual misadventures. The fact that these marriages are at times sanctioned by the parents may indicate lack of wisdom on the part of the parent, or merely that popular sentiment points to

marriage as the best way out after pregnancy occurs.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The picture of the group included in this study is on the whole one of an underprivileged section of the population, poorly equipped educationally, affected to some extent by broken homes, poverty, and lack of recreational supervision.

We must not overlook the fact, however, that at the time when many of these young couples were married, the husband or wife or both had more or less steady employment. Industry offered fairly good wages to lads of 18 or 19 on repetitive jobs which could be learned in a few weeks' time. The wives could earn also, at least until a home was provided. "Waiting for a start in life" had gone out of fashion.

Changes, even then occurring but scarcely realized, are now in full swing. Not only the codes, but the increasing mechanization of industry is doing away with the demand for untrained workers. A prolonged period of education, perhaps up to a minimum of twenty-one years, is predicted for American youth; while for those who have no aptitude for such schooling the future holds out less and less promise. The transition can be followed in the writings of our leading thinkers on industrial problems through recent years.<sup>7</sup>

The adjustment of youth to the new conditions is more than a matter of expanding the educational system; for we cannot ignore the natural adolescent impulses and

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Arthur Pound, *The Iron Man in Industry*, (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922), 53-54; Stuart Chase, *Men and Machines* (New York, Macmillan, 1929), 157-160; Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Industrial Discipline* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1933), 102; Ralph G. Hurlin in *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, McGraw, Hill Co., 1933), Vol. I, 277; C. N. Reynolds, "Social Conditions and Trends," *Occupations*, Vol. 12, No. 7, March, 1934, 18.



the misery for which they may be responsible when not under proper guidance. The question is not easily solved but a few tentative suggestions may be offered:

1. Some of the juvenile marriages described in our study might be prevented by better enforcement of existing laws. One of the simplest means to this end is the requirement of accurate proof of age, already in effect in some license bureaus but sadly lacking in others.

2. Better recreational opportunities might be provided to meet the emotional needs of youth, particularly those whose home background is inadequate.

3. As the problem is to some extent an individual one, the technique worked out for vocational guidance might be extended to this field; in fact beginnings of marriage counselling have already been made in some places. The plan of consulting parents, schools, and social agencies, with

the purpose of helping the young person to think out his own problems and make his own decisions, would seem to be as valuable upon entrance into a lifelong relationship as it has proven itself upon entrance into the first job.

4. In cases where early marriage seems wise, and there are many such, the difficulties of economic insecurity might be mitigated by wider extension of knowledge of contraceptive devices.

The whole question ties in with a number of other social problems, particularly that of population control. Will Durant has said, "We are not educating too many, we are breeding too many," and has suggested that we "reduce the supply of uneducated muscle."<sup>8</sup> Our study suggests ways in which we might move nearer to this goal, with the probable result of increasing the sum-total of individual as well as social well-being.

## MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

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MUCH has been written on the family life of the Ancients, especially regarding China and India in the East and Greece and Rome in the West. In spite of certain differences there was a great similarity in the family organization of these four peoples—the strongly established patriarchal form, the powerful abhorrence of incest, and other like features. The early Egyptians, however, had a family organization that differed greatly from these others in some of its most fundamental features. Authentic information on marriage and family forms among the ancient Egyptians is decidedly limited, but enough is known to permit one to sketch the main lines of the picture. The details cannot be filled in, but perhaps their omission will not prevent us from

getting a general view of the family life of that time.

### MATRILINEAL DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

That feature of the picture which first catches the eye is the fact that descent was traced through the mother, and could always be traced back further on the female side of the family than on the male side. Property also descended through the female line, though it seems to have been controlled, at least for all practical purposes, by the men. This may or may not indicate that true matriarchy prevailed at an earlier time, for, as can be shown by a study of the few known tribes that most nearly approach matriarchy (such as the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *A Program for America* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1931), 96, 117.

Khasi of Assam, the Pueblo Indians and the Iroquois), matrilineal descent and inheritance does not necessarily imply female dominance over the male corresponding to the patriarchal system of male dominance.

In such a society we might also reasonably expect to find matrilineal residence, but there is no mention of it. It of course existed, without the necessity of being enforced, in the case of brother marrying sister, and it may have had wider scope than this. We do know, however, that the youth looked to his maternal grandfather, rather than to his own father, as his most powerful protector and the one most vitally interested in his success. As one of the old writings put it, "When he is placed at the head of the court of justice, then the father of his mother thanks God."<sup>1</sup>

The system of royal succession wavered back and forth from one line of descent to the other. Petrie thinks that prior to the first dynasty the succession was in the female line. In the first dynasty it was a male succession, in the second it was again female, but by the sixth dynasty the succession of sons was in force again.<sup>2</sup>

Fixed property descended by the female line, from mother to daughter or to the daughter's son. The kingdom itself followed the same rule for a considerable time. Theoretically, at least, it was the property of the Royal Daughters, and whoever became King acquired the kingdom by virtue of marrying the Princess.

The question of legitimacy, in respect to the inheritance of property, is obscure. There was but one legal wife in most cases, and Breasted says the women of the harem had no legal claim upon their lord.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Adolf Erman: *Life in Ancient Egypt*, translated by H. M. Tirard, London, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie: *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1923, p. 111.

Wilkerson, however, definitely states that no distinction was made between the offspring of the wife and those of any other woman, all sharing the inheritance on equal grounds.<sup>3</sup>

#### MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS

Another distinctive feature of Egyptian marriage was that the rule against union between close relatives, a rule so common among both primitive and civilized peoples as to be almost universal, was wholly lacking. In the love songs the words "brother and sister" have the same significance as "husband and wife." There was none of the common horror of incest. Indeed, not only was the brother *permitted* to marry his sister, but such marriage was *customary*. Several primitive peoples have been known to make exceptions for such inbreeding in the royal family, but in Egypt brother-sister marriage was not limited to royalty or nobility. It was considered the most suitable type of marriage in all ranks of society.<sup>4</sup> Many of the Ptolemies married their sisters, and by the Roman period the custom had become so common that two-thirds of all the citizens of Arisnoe were said to be thus closely intermarried. This was evidently justified by the example of the gods, for Osiris set the pattern by marrying his sister Isis.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The position of the wife in ancient Egypt was remarkably high. Most writers state that the wife was on an equality with the husband, and was always treated with the greatest consideration.

<sup>3</sup> J. Gardner Wilkerson: *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, new edit., London, 1878, Vol. I.

<sup>4</sup> James H. Breasted: *A History of Egypt*, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. London, new edit., 1921, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Alexandre Moret: *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, N. Y., 1929.

This may have been due partly to the fact that property descended through the woman and courtesy paid big dividends, and partly to the fact that often husband and wife were also brother and sister, and had been reared together. But whatever the cause, the Egyptian wife held a position of honor and was respected by husband and children alike. The pictures frequently show the husband and wife in an affectionate attitude, seated together on the double chair so common in Egyptian houses, with the children grouped about them. The domestic life seems to have been unusually happy. In contrast with the seclusion in which Greek women were kept, Egyptian women shared the work and recreation of their husbands. They accompanied their husbands on their hunting and fishing expeditions, one of the most familiar scenes depicted on the monuments being that of husband and wife on the Nile fens, fishing and fowling from a papyrus skiff. The wife's rôle was chiefly that of spectator, but at least she was one of the party. Scenes of husband and wife entertaining guests are also common. The wife also shared the work and responsibilities of her husband, whether he be of high or low estate. In royal edicts and documents the Queen's name was coupled with the King's, and if he died the Queen continued as sole ruler.

But something can also be said on the other side. Glanville<sup>6</sup> thinks that while women were very well treated, the men were the undisputed masters of their households. Both stelae and wall-paintings show the women-folk waiting on the men at the table. He asserts that the tendency to make the women so much smaller than the men in all the pictures was for the purpose of showing their inferiority. The women's quarters were

separated from the rest of the house and were usually at the back. When the husband was displeased with his wife he sent her to "the back of the house," and to be thus dismissed was considered a disgrace. A wise man of the very early period summed up the attitude toward women in his instructions to his son: "If you are a man of parts, make a home for yourself and love your wife in the accepted way: fill her belly; clothe her back; and she must have oil for her body. Make her happy as long as she lives, for she will do you credit."<sup>7</sup> This sounds like excellent treatment, but the last line also sounds like excellent *policy*. Was such benevolence merely enlightened self-interest? Perhaps—or perhaps not. At any rate there follows almost immediately the warning not to let the wife get the upper hand! But whatever the modern skeptic may say about motives, the fact remains that nearly all of the pictures and writings of the early Egyptians revealed a happy family life, with women on a near equality with men.

Polygyny was known but was uncommon. Occasionally there was a double marriage in the royal family for the sake of political alliance. Diodorus claimed that a man could take as many wives as he wished, with the exception of priests who were limited to one. But the original records seem to bear out Heroditus' assertion that polygyny was very rare. This does not mean that the husband was necessarily confined to the favors of one woman. The harem very early became an accepted part of Egyptian culture. The man who could afford it would have a number of female household slaves (both black and white) who as a matter of course were considered his harem. There was no moral issue involved; his right to them was taken for granted. But only one woman was the legitimate wife.

<sup>6</sup> S. R. K. Glanville: *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1930, pp. 15-18.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by Glanville, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

## FILIAL RELATIONS

Children were expected to have the greatest regard for their parents. It was the duty of the son to maintain his father's tomb and to make ancestral offerings. The eldest son was called "the support of his mother." If the son was not prepared to help his parents in their old age (he was under no *legal* obligations to do so) the daughter was obliged by law to support them. This reversal of the common procedure amazed the Greeks, but it was logical in that the property descended through the daughter. However, such obligations probably had to be enforced very seldom, for filial devotion was strong. It was the son's duty to "cause his father's name to live," and presumably his mother's name also. He saw that their tombs were maintained according to the rank of the family. Frequently a statue of a man's mother would be placed in his tomb after his death. This served the double purpose of showing his love for his mother and proving his descent.

Gosse quotes from a father's instructions to his son: "I gave thee thy mother, she that bore thee with much suffering. . . She placed thee in the House of Instruction for the sake of thine instruction in books; she was constant to thee daily, sending loaves and beer from her house. When thou art grown up, and hast taken to thee a wife, being master of thy house, cast thine eyes on her who gave thee birth and provided thee with all good things, as did thy mother. Let her not reproach thee, lest she lift up her hands to God and He hear her prayer."<sup>8</sup> The last line appears to suggest filial piety as a sort of prosperity insurance, but the records hardly bear this out as the chief motive. Sincere affection played the dominant rôle.

<sup>8</sup> A. Bothwell Gosse: *The Civilization of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1915, p. 5.

Parents were obligated to do their full share toward the welfare of their children. Their authority over their offspring did not extend to the power of life and death, as it did with the Roman father. The exposure of infants was not allowed, and the murder of a child was considered a vile crime. For such a crime the father was not punished by death, as it appeared to the Egyptians inconsistent to take away the life of the one who had given life to the child originally. But the punishment was a gruesome one, intended to induce grief and remorse. The corpse of the child was fastened to the father's neck in an embrace, and left that way for three days and nights under the watchfulness of a public guard.<sup>9</sup> Even the rights of an unborn child were recognized. A pregnant woman guilty of a capital offense was not executed until after the birth of the child.

## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

The myths credit Osiris with revealing the institution of marriage when he married his sister, Isis. We do not know just what formalities came to be essential, but the contract was an important feature. Diodorus claims that in the marriage contract it was stipulated that the wife should have control over the husband, but later writers do not agree to such an interpretation. The wife's authority was doubtless considerable in the household, but in other matters, while receiving great consideration, she was not superior to her husband. Petrie gives the provisions of the earliest known Egyptian marriage contract, dated 590 B.C. Since it is identical with one forty years later he assumes that it was an established type probably of long standing. The young man first entered the house of his prospective father-in-law to make his "declaration of wife." The father then gave the

<sup>9</sup> Wilkerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-4.



youth a dowry of six ounces of silver and fifty measures of corn. The youth then took oath that if he left the bride, either from dislike or because he preferred another woman, ("apart from the great crime which is found in women") he would return the dowry together with a share of all paternal and maternal property for the children which she had borne. The dowry amounted to about \$100 [present value].<sup>10</sup> This indicates that marriage consisted chiefly of a business contract, and, as will be seen, there were heavy penalties for breaking it and thereby causing the other party great inconvenience.

The divorce formula was, "I have abandoned thee as wife, I am removed from thee, I have no claim on earth upon thee, I have said unto thee, 'Make for thyself a husband in any place to which thou shalt go.'"<sup>11</sup> Also the wife was penalized for abandoning her husband. Further provisions of the contract are revealed by the marriage contract of two Jews marrying at Elephantine in 442 B.C. The bride's father gave to her clothing and toilet goods, and to her husband five shekels plus other presents, the value of each being listed. The agreement was that if the husband died without issue from his wife she would have full right to all his property, and conversely. If the wife stood up in the congregation and said, "I divorce my husband," the price of the divorce would fall upon her, and she would give him five shekels of silver in addition to everything he had given her. She could then go where she pleased. But if the husband drove her away without formal divorce (i.e., presumably on grounds that did not fully justify him in such action) he was to pay her back a sum which Petrie interprets as being about fifteen-fold.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

That the wife's status was very high in Coptic times is shown by the terms of a marriage contract of a priest's son. "Since God willeth that we should unite one with the other in righteous wedlock, after the manner of every free man and every wise woman; therefore I have given thee \$40 [in present value] gold as a bridal gift, that thou mayest come and enter my home as a free woman. And for my part I will not neglect thee more than as it were my own body. Neither shall I be able to put thee forth without a cause having legal ground. But should I wish to put thee forth, I shall pay \$150 for the matter," and conversely.<sup>13</sup>

Adultery was considered a heinous offense. The adulterous woman was sentenced to lose her nose, since that would detract most from her personal charm. The guilty man received a thousand blows of the bastinado. For the greater crime of rape he received a very cruel punishment.<sup>14</sup> Immorality was strongly condemned by virtuous writers, and the wise issued special warning to youths against the wiles of strange women from abroad. But none the less gross immorality was widespread, especially among the working class, where assaulting strange women was a common crime.

#### TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

The father and mother were both responsible for the education of their children. Nothing is said regarding the formal education of girls, but undoubtedly they were well trained in the performance of household duties. But boys received considerable education. During the period of infancy—the first three years—they were nursed by their mother and carried on her back. The next four years was the period of childhood, and was followed by

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Wilkerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-4.

the period of boyhood which marked the beginning of the educational period. If the parents were poor they jointly attended to the instruction of the children, the father having more to do with the boys, giving them moral instruction and teaching them his trade. If the family could afford it the boys were sent to a school. The privileged class sent their boys either to the palace, to be brought up with the children there, or to one of the schools operated by the different depart-

ments of the government, in which they were fitted for official life. Here they pursued not only the regular courses of instruction, but also learned gymnastics, ethics, and especially good manners. But among most classes the son followed the trade of his father. When he was diligent and faithfully aided his father in carrying on his business, the father was charged by the learned writings to "do unto him every good thing," for such a son was a blessing not only in life, but after death as well.

#### OXFORD MEETING, WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS

The following announcement comes from the office of the World Federation of Education Associations:

Arrangements have now definitely been made for the synchronized conferences of the World Federation of Education Associations, the International Federation of Secondary Associations and the International Federation of Teachers' Associations (elementary), to be held at Oxford, England, from 10th to 17th of August, 1935.

The program of subjects to be discussed at the various meetings will be very comprehensive, and cover most of the problems connected with teaching and education generally. In addition to the usual social functions and excursions, an educational exhibition of English school work will be arranged for the benefit of both English and foreign visitors.

This meeting promises to be not only of unique character, but also of historic importance, and those who attend will have opportunities for contacts with educationists and teachers from many lands.

Plans are being worked out for tours of various lengths and costs throughout the British Isles and also on the continent. Persons who are interested in sailing dates, cost of travel, accommodations, etc., should write to the headquarters office of the World Federation, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### DIFFICULTIES IN MEASURING RACIAL MENTAL TRAITS

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THE enthusiasm for measurement in social science has recently led to attempts to measure many mental and social traits which were formerly thought of in a qualitative rather than a quantitative way. Some most valuable contributions to the understanding of social phenomena have arisen from the truly scientific attempts to construct scales for the measuring and rating of many individual and social traits. On the other hand the methods of making such measurements are so complex that the results of many attempts are open to serious question. The inexperienced investigator needs to exercise great caution in each step of the process, and the student in the field who is attempting to understand the results which have been obtained needs to be aware of a number of difficulties which stand in the way of interpreting such measures.

Difficulties in measuring racial traits are of four types:

- I. Difficulty in measuring accurately an individual (Scale Difficulties).
- II. Difficulty in securing the subjects to be measured (Sampling Difficulties).
- III. Difficulty in comparing groups from individual measures (Statistical Difficulties).
- IV. Ethical discrepancies in entering measures (Difficulty of determining social values).

#### DIFFICULTY IN MEASURING INDIVIDUALS

Measurement in science implies an objective scale, and scales of measuring IQs, achievement, etc. only partially meet this requirement.

An objective scale is one whose units are not capable of subjective interpretation by the investigator. A scale of length is ultimately referable to a standard meter bar kept at a certain temperature in Paris or similar measures in the United States Bureau of Standards. A scale of weight is also ultimately referable to laboratory materials of a high degree of exactness. Unfortunately we have no such objective test of relative amounts of mathematical ability, musical genius, or beauty of form and feature. We may know that it is more difficult to answer the question what is the cube of 2 than it is to answer the question what is  $2 \times 2$ . But does the ability to answer the former indicate twice the mathematical power, three times, or ten times? That is a matter of subjective judgment. In other words, the value assigned to steps in a rating or test scale is assigned by a reasoning rather than an observational process. The investigator who is truly scientific in spirit safeguards this point in every way possible. First by not taking his own values to weight the ques-

tions but by getting as large a consensus of judgment on the scale as possible.

Second this consensus is often checked by a "validating" process, i.e., the application of the scale to some selected group whose performance has been independently measured by other means to determine the extent to which the scale gives results consistent with other measures. Or by applying the scale to a number of groups and testing the consistency of results. The extent to which an agreement is found is the extent of validity of the test.

In the appraisal of the results of a mental measurement, therefore, the first question which the critical student needs to raise is "How were the values or weights applied to each question determined; i.e., how were the answers scored, and to what extent were they tested before the scale was used?"

This question becomes doubly important when a test is devised by members of one group to be applied to members of another. What is important to one may seem relatively trivial to another, and there is no impartial tribunal to which the question can be referred for objective evaluation.

A similar question should always be raised at this point, viz., "To what extent does this test measure the thing which it is supposed to measure?" This may be illustrated by some of the earlier forms of "intelligence tests." The effort in this field was to develop scales which would measure native mental ability apart from things learned. However, the results of many such tests fluctuated so with schooling and social status that it was apparent that many of the devices were merely testing information rather than intelligence. Other difficulties arise when the test is so constructed that there is a time limit on each question or section. Different attitudes toward the taking of such tests on the part of the subjects can account for

wide variation in the time taken to complete the operation.

Another statistical difficulty in interpreting many tests is the lack of an absolute zero point from which to start the measurement. We know in the case of length that the distance from ten to fifteen feet is half as far as from zero to ten feet, and similarly the distance from fifty to fifty-five feet is a tenth as far as from zero to fifty. Many measurements of more intangible traits—say of mathematical ability—have no absolute zero from which to start, hence the resulting scores obtained cannot be interpreted as strictly as the results from measuring length with a foot rule. In other words, it cannot be assumed that an individual scoring eighty is twice as able as one scoring forty.

#### DIFFICULTIES IN SECURING A SAMPLE

Most inquiries do not permit of the measurement of all or even a very large proportion of the members of the groups to be compared unless the groups are so small that they are likely to be influenced by local conditions and not truly representative of other groups. Unless a sample is taken in a truly random manner bias is likely to result merely from the fact that the tests must be given at some place where the investigator and the subject can get together with some time to devote to the process. This suggests schools and institutions to such a degree that large elements of the population are often omitted.

The careful investigator will describe his sampling procedure so that the student may at least be on guard as to the extent to which his results may be generalized and the extent to which their significance is local.

#### DIFFICULTIES IN COMPARING GROUPS

Except for the lack of an absolute zero point, the comparison of two individuals



on the basis of their test scores is a straightforward process. Considerably more involved is the comparison of two groups or races.

The scores of the different individuals in the two groups always vary. It would be a simple matter if all the whites tested in an investigation made a score of 80 and all the Negroes 70 and all the Indians 75, but mental traits are not so uniform. The white scores would probably range from 40 to 100 and the range of Negro and Indian scores might be quite similar.

The first point to be borne in mind in this connection is that group comparisons made on the basis of averages alone may mean very little. One group may have roughly the same distribution as the other, but the average may differ from the inclusion of a few exceptional individuals. On the other hand variable series with the same averages can have quite different ranges and different distributions within the range. What the student needs to keep in mind here is that group averages should always be supplemented by some description of the way the trait is distributed in the two groups.

This leads to a general observation concerning the nature of racial difference which should be kept in mind. Namely, that in nearly every attempt which has been made to measure the difference in racial mental as well as physical traits, it has been found that, though the averages may differ, the distributions overlap. To revert for a moment to the field of physical traits, we speak of Negroes as black and Europeans as white, yet when such a trait is subjected to test by a color top or pigmentation scale, some Negro stocks appear lighter than some of the darker "white" strains. In skin color we have picked one of the most extreme instances. Other traits when measured usually show even more overlap between groups. This gives

us a concept of the nature of racial differences. They are not discontinuous series wherein all members of the group will rank above or below all members of another, but they are overlapping distributions wherein a greater or less proportion of the two are within the same range while the averages are caused to diverge because of the exceptional individuals in each group. In other words, we do not have a set of partitioned pigeon holes with all the whites in one compartment and all the blacks in another. What we have is a situation where the members of the two groups are distributed through a whole range of pigeon holes in differing proportions.

#### ETHICAL DISCREPANCIES IN INTERPRETING MEASURES

Finally, the student is likely to run into great difficulty if the concepts of superiority and inferiority are introduced into the picture. High and low score in mathematical tests certainly indicate a difference but may or may not indicate intellectual superiority. Superiority, like the values assigned to the questions on the test, is a subjective concept of the individual and is usually arrived at through his personal experience.

The traits which are supremely desirable for survival in a machine civilization in a temperate zone may be inimical to survival in the tropical jungle. From this point of view the strength of a trait may become superiority in one place and inferiority in another.

Owing to this difficulty, it would seem wise for the student to accept the differences which appear merely as differences without regard to the question as to whether such differences indicate inherent inferiority or not. As far as we have progressed in the technique of measuring difference, we have made no scientific

approach to determining the ethical value of such differences.

Enough has been said to indicate that measuring by subjectively constructed scales is a very complex field of science and, while the highly trained scientist may con-

tribute to knowledge by that technique, the tyro can go wrong in a dozen ways, and the careless interpreter of the results can arrive at conclusions not in harmony with the facts unless every step of the method is understood and checked.

## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIAN STUDENT LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS<sup>1</sup>

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ONE is sometimes unable in a research paper to deal with questions of very broad import. But in the present instance, the plan frankly will be a departure into a broader mosaic of problems and methods of which the study to be reported is only a single unit.

The investigation embraced a comparative study of Indian student leaders and followers at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.<sup>2</sup> So far as I know, it is the only study of Indian leaders and followers that has been made, and indeed, it is among a very small number of comparative studies of leaders and followers that have been reported.<sup>3</sup>

A word should be said concerning the practical importance of studies of the

leader and leadership. It is a well-known fact that leadership has received very little scientific attention compared to that given the delinquent, the criminal, the insane, the feeble-minded, the blind, the deaf, and the other types around which "social problems" revolve. And yet it is an even more important practical question than are some of the others, for the very good reason that it represents a positive attack on the difficulties of society. From the practical standpoint there would seem to be no need of arguing the value of constructive direction of society, and the need for those who may lead others toward a better social condition, or who may contribute toward the social welfare, and who not merely fail to waste the substance of society.

It is also obvious that suggestions about the importance of studying leadership do not apply fully to the leaders in any one body of students, since leaders and leadership vary somewhat from situation to situation. However, these considerations do not invalidate the study of student leaders and followers, for in schools and in the ages under consideration, personality trends of great importance for future social rôles are being developed. The student leaders of any school may be the community leaders in the next fifteen years, and later on they may even be state and national leaders. And again, while there is considerable variation in leaders

<sup>1</sup> This is a slightly shortened form of a paper presented at the meeting of the Sociology Section of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, Texas, April 14, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> The writer desires to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Paul A. Cannady, Miss Sara E. Sample, and Messrs. A. A. Van Sickle, Frank Dunkley, and F. E. Morawetz, members of the faculty of Haskell Institute who aided him in the collection and analysis of the data used in the study.

<sup>3</sup> For example, cf. F. S. Chapin, "Measuring the Volume of Social Stimuli," *Social Forces*, IV (1926), 479-495; C. C. Bellingrath, "Qualities Associated with Leadership in the Extra-Curricular Activities of the High School," *Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education*, No. 399, 1930; C. A. Poindexter, "A Comparison of Leaders with Followers," *Thesis for the Master of Arts Degree*, University of Missouri, 1931.

from situation to situation, there are limits to this variation, especially since the school with several hundred students contains a variety of situations that resemble those to be faced later in life. I believe that the student who is a follower in all respects in a school or college with eight hundred or more students will have a tendency to be a follower throughout life, and that the outstanding school leader will very likely not be just a follower in later life.

#### PROBLEMS AND METHODS

There were four main problems investigated in the study: First, the determination of the differences between Indian student leaders and followers, and through these a consideration of as many factors as possible that help to produce leaders and followers; second, the determination of race differences between Indian and white students in leader and follower characteristics, insofar as the data collected could be compared with those from similar studies of white students; third, the determination of leader and follower differences in judgments of traits which they say the leader should possess; and fourth, the determination of race differences in judgments of traits the leader should possess.

The first step in studying these questions was the selection of a group of leaders and followers from the student-body of the school, which had more than eight hundred students. This was done by a special questionnaire, one item of which was: "Write the names of the five outstanding leaders in your vice-council." The vice-council is a grouping of students who live in the same dormitory. It is the unit of student organization in the school, and embraces all students, vice-councils consisting of from twenty-five to forty students, and averaging about thirty. The result of voting for leaders of vice-councils

was that a number of students received a large number of votes, measured roughly by the number of students in the vice-council, and that the leaders were not differentiated with regard to importance in the school as a whole. More than six hundred students made selections, all vice-councils being about equally represented; and this insures the selection of actual leaders from each of the small groups.

From the leaders who were determined in this manner, a group of 77 boy and 28 girl leaders were selected at random for intensive study, the leader being a student who had received at least ten votes, or at least one-fourth of the votes from each vice-council. The criterion for the followers was a total less than ten votes, and of this group who received less than ten votes, 79 boys and 28 girls were chosen at random for more intensive study. It might have been more desirable to select as leaders only those receiving votes from 50 per cent of their possible constituency, and as followers those receiving less than 10 per cent of the votes of their possible constituency, but this method was not employed because it would have yielded only a few leaders and would have restricted leaders and followers to extreme types only. As it is, the average number of votes for the boy leaders was 19, and for the boy followers was 1, for the girl leaders was 14, and for the girl followers was 4, and these differences are sufficiently great for studies of group differences.

Each leader and follower of both sexes was then interviewed by one of his or her faculty advisers, the points covered being age, degree of Indian blood, class, years at Haskell, years at other Indian schools, years at public schools, religion, occupation of father, wealth of family, social position of family, positions of leadership held by relatives in the home community, positions of leadership held by the student

at Haskell, method of selection as Haskell leader, height, weight, weight-height ratio, physical defects, intelligence (Pressey Senior Classification and Verification Tests), organizations participated in at Haskell, and length of membership, number of courses passed and failed in the last semester, average grade, amount of reading in library, number and character of news items in the school newspaper, and leadership in past years at Haskell.

In addition, data were collected on personality traits. These included the average rating, on a five-point scale, of seven teachers and advisers on each of twenty-five boy leaders, boy followers, girl leaders, and girl followers, each student also rating himself and being rated by two other students, a boy friend and a girl friend. Each leader was paired with each follower as nearly as possible with regard to tribe, age, grade in school, vice-council, and general social background. In this way, actual leaders and followers were studied, and many of the difficulties of both trait ratings and sampling were escaped. The traits were: trustworthiness, cheerfulness, kindness, friendliness, ambition, coöperation, sociability, reverence, initiative, personal appearance, thriftiness, self-confidence, sensitiveness, industry, perseverance, wisdom, versatility, nervousness, quality and volume of voice, and originality.

By obtaining the average of each group of leaders for a given characteristic, comparing that average with the average for the corresponding group of followers, and computing the standard error of the difference, the statistically significant differences between the leaders and followers were obtained. As a result of this procedure, the first main question of the investigation, that concerning the difference between Indian student leaders and followers, could be answered.

The second question, that concerning race differences in leader characteristics, was not investigated directly, but had to be answered by comparing the data on Indian students with published researches on students of the white race.<sup>4</sup>

The chief points of procedure for studying the third and fourth problems were two questions in the original questionnaire: "What are the characteristics of a good leader in play?" and "If you are to be the leader, what ought to be your conduct in order that students will obey you, and that your leadership would last?" The replies to these questions which were made by those selected as leaders were compared to the replies made by the followers. The differences between them answered problem number three. Problem number four, that concerning race differences in judgments of traits the leader should possess, was answered by a comparison of the total Haskell group with published studies of German and American students that were comparable.

#### RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

One way of presenting the results would be to give the pattern of characteristics of the Indian leaders and followers from a review of the central tendencies of the group. But instead of going into such details, I shall give only the most significant results, significance being determined by reliability of the difference between all leaders and all followers. A satisfactory reliability (measured by a difference greater than  $3\sigma$  diff) was found to exist for the differences between all Indian student leaders and all Indian student followers, without regard to sex, in the fol-

<sup>4</sup> It should be pointed out that most of the Indian students had some white blood, many being more than half white. The "race" differences are thus as much social as biological, although there is a biological element present in every individual case.



lowing characteristics: number of positions of leadership held at Haskell, proportion of such positions due to student choice, friendliness, ambition, personal appearance, perseverance, sociability, confidence, versatility, and originality,—exactly the list of characteristics in which the girl leaders were reliably superior to the girl followers.

There were also a number of reliable leader-follower differences for boys alone. Such differences do not disclose important Indian student *leader characteristics*, but perhaps they do disclose Indian student *boy leader characteristics*. These characteristics were: social position of the family, number of positions of leadership held by father in the home community, number of organizations participated in at Haskell, length of membership in such organizations, number of appearances in the school newspaper, past leadership at Haskell, and such traits as trustworthiness, cheerfulness, kindliness, reverence, initiative, thriftiness, sensitiveness, industry, wisdom, and quality and volume of voice.

By consulting a number of studies of white student leaders which included data on characteristics studied for the Haskell students, it has been possible to discover if there are significant Indian-white differences in characteristics related to selection as student leaders. It would be more satisfactory if this portion of the report could be treated in detail, but it must be summed up in as few statements as possible.

Fairly satisfactory comparisons could be made for the following characteristics: height, weight, weight-height ratio, intelligence, scholastic achievement, socioeconomic status, participation in student organizations, and such personality traits as honesty, personal appearance, initiative, ambition, and persistence. The method of study in each case was to make

a double comparison of the leaders of each race with the followers of the same race, and compare the races in the direction and degree of differences between leaders and followers. By this means it is possible to ascertain if a given characteristic, whatever the absolute amount of it, is more definitely a leader characteristic for one of the races than for the other. Consider an actual example: The weight-height ratios for Indian boy leaders was 230, for Indian boy followers was 226; for a group of white boy leaders it was 214, and for the corresponding followers was 209.<sup>5</sup> There is a race difference of 16 points between leaders of the two races and 17 points between followers. But the leader-follower differences are only 4 and 5 respectively. This shows that there is a race difference in weight-height ratio, but no significant race difference in weight-height superiority of leaders over followers is disclosed. This latter fact is more important for the student of leadership than is the fact about absolute race differences.

The race comparisons may be summed up in a few words. In almost all of the characteristics concerning which satisfactory comparisons could be made, there were insufficient race differences to support a theory of race differences in leader characteristics. In only two items were there race differences: weight of leader compared to follower, and scholarship record of leader compared to follower. In the first instance the Indian leaders were more superior to their followers than white leaders were to their followers; in the second instance the white leaders were more superior to their followers than was true of the Indian leaders. Only these two items stand in the way of a sweeping con-

<sup>5</sup> Bellingrath, *op. cit.*, p. 14, calculations by the present author. The formula employed was 
$$\frac{100 \text{ weight}}{\text{height}} = \text{weight-height ratio.}$$

clusion that no evidence of race difference was disclosed.

The results for the third main problem, leader-follower differences in the traits that it is said leaders in play and leaders in general activities should possess, are based upon the statements of 84 leaders and 535 followers. In the case of leaders in play, the ten leading traits in order mentioned by leaders were: sportsmanship, honesty, fairness, "personality," leadership, initiative, loyalty, intelligence, influence, and pleasant disposition. For the followers the order was sportsmanship, honesty, fairness, "personality," consideration and courtesy, initiative, pleasant disposition, cleanliness, friendship, and ability. There is remarkable similarity in the opinions of the leaders and followers, the most important four traits being identical, and two more identical ones being included in the first ten traits.

Concerning the conduct of a person if he is to become and remain a leader, the leaders mentioned in order of importance the following item: "Set an example," fairness, "do right," sportsmanship, "don't ask followers to do what you won't do," patience, honesty, firmness, determination, and friendliness. For followers the ten most frequently named items were: honesty, determination, fairness, friendliness, kindness, "set an example," dependability, firmness, pleasantness of disposition, and good reputation. As in the traits of leaders in play, there were six identical items appearing among the first ten for both leaders and followers, but in the present instance the rank of them was considerably more dissimilar.

Nevertheless, and in spite of important differences of opinion between leaders and followers, there is more agreement than disagreement between leaders and followers in this respect. This suggests that

there is a common element in the observations and judgments of both Indian student leaders and followers concerning the traits leaders should possess, and that this is true for play leaders as well as for a general type of leader.

It will also be noted that the Indian students, both leaders and followers, show only slight similarity in the characteristics named for play and general leaders. Only sportsmanship, honesty, fairness, friendliness, and pleasantness of disposition were mentioned for both play and general leaders, and only fairness and honesty were named among the first ten traits by both leaders and followers for both types of leaders. We must conclude that Indian students judge the traits most helpful to play leaders to be quite different from those most helpful to general leaders. And both leaders and followers agreed on this wide difference.

The fourth and last problem to be considered was race differences in the traits it is said leaders should possess. There are several reports that may be compared with the results for Indian students, but the comparisons cannot be conclusive because a number of variables remain uncontrolled in each case. For example, there are no studies that may be satisfactorily compared to the Indian student data on characteristics of play leaders. One study did include the results of a similar question which was asked to a total of more than 500 German students from the third to the eighth grades.<sup>6</sup> But because age, nationality, and other facts were different in the two studies, there can be no satisfactory isolation of race differences. Only later studies which control all variables but race can answer this question.

<sup>6</sup> K. Broich, "Führeranforderungen in der Kindergruppe," *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie*, vol. 32 (1929), pp. 164-212.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESULTS

There are several other remarks I should like to make concerning this study, partly in order to evaluate its contribution and partly in order to emphasize needs uncovered by it. First, this type of study is not likely to disclose much that is dependable about the process of leadership. Leaders and followers were studied abstracted from their interactions. Because of this the results must be considered only as what they are and not as adequate to explain leadership or followership. If they are capable of explaining anything, it is why the leaders were selected as leaders.

There is also a very serious question whether these results are dependable. The only possible answer to this, and it is based on the measurement of reliability of the differences between group averages, is that Indian leaders and followers of the sort for which the sample is adequate are really alike or different according to the results obtained. There should be no exceptions to this for the findings for any population similar to this one.

In this study as in most others there were both negative and positive contributions. The negative ones take the form of proving a possible factor to be unimportant. Every characteristic that was possessed equally by leaders and followers, by boys and girls, or by Indians and students of other races is thus eliminated as a possible differentiating fact and as a possible etiological fact. This method is of great importance also in the determination of the true factors, because if the negative approach is used widely enough, the true cause may be arrived at by the process of elimination. And the only other way to be perfectly sure what is the sufficient cause is by experimentation. Since this is very nearly impossible for many phenomena, the method of elimination is highly useful. According to this point of

view, every negative result of the present investigation is valuable in eliminating certain possible factors and in bringing us somewhat closer to the pattern of true and necessary factors.

Turning to the positive results, differences between boy leaders and followers, between girl leaders and followers, and between Indian and white students, we should like to know if the characteristics for which reliable leader-follower differences were found are helpful in accounting for the selection of student leaders. To this question one must make a frank answer. It is possible to see *how* each one of them may aid in the selection of a person as a leader, but there is no way to be sure that such aid has actually operated. The characteristics may be results, or accompaniments, and not causes. Only another sort of study can make us certain on these points.

Concerning the importance of the results on the opinions of traits the leader should possess, it may be pointed out that these opinions may disclose characteristics of the person whom the giver of the opinion would follow. This at least would be expected to be true. There is no way to know at this time if this is true, but if it should be true, it would mean that the person possessing such traits as those mentioned most often by leaders would have those leaders as followers, if other things were equal; and that the person possessing such traits as those mentioned most often by followers would have those followers as his followers, if other things were equal. It also would mean that the possessor of the characteristics would more likely be the leader than one who did not have those traits. The situation in which the person would lead also would depend upon the traits, if the stated opinions constitute a true index of behavior. A play leader would need certain traits, another

kind of leader, such as a musical or business club, or religious leader, would perhaps need others. This question requires further investigation.

METHODOLOGICAL NEEDS DISCLOSED BY  
THIS STUDY

Of the needs disclosed by this study and concerning which suggestions may be made, there are two main types, methodological and problematical. The first is concerned with research methods which would help to improve future studies similar to the one conducted; the second is concerned with studies of other sorts which are related to the one conducted.

The methodological suggestions fall under three heads, the selection of cases, collection of data about the individual case, and the interpretation of data. The main point about the selection of cases is the distinction between the leader and the follower. This may be done in terms of votes, as was done in the present instance, the voting being done by small or large groups, a certain number or proportion of possible votes being the criterion of a leader, and something less than that the criterion of a follower. If the selection by means of votes be discarded, the leaders may be those holding offices by appointment or election, followers being those who do not hold such offices.

Concerning the character of the sample of cases studied intensively, the investigator should be careful to make his selection so that the findings may be statistically reliable. Generally speaking, if only one student body be studied, a statistically reliable sample will include all or nearly all of the outstanding leaders. For followers this will not be true. Here the important thing is to select at random, or by equal representations of other criteria besides those used in selecting the leader, a number of cases that will be large enough

for statistical reliability. In no instance is one justified in studying only a few cases of leaders or followers unless they are so carefully selected and matched that many factors are controlled. The same principles should be applied to sampling beyond the single student body. Sufficient cases from each group for significance on the basis of factors kept under control are necessary for a generalization covering a number of schools.

The suggestions I have for the collection of data include perfection (especially quantification and determination of reliability) of present methods, such as those employed in the study of Indian students; the use of those scales and techniques which are already perfected; the development and perfection of new methods which are calculated to utilize the total knowable data about each individual; and the rapid and thorough diffusion of methods to all investigators so that comparable studies may accumulate more rapidly. Each of these could be elaborated at length, and much more can be said about these questions than was said about sampling, but this will not be done here. I may say, however, that each suggestion is extremely important, the degree of its importance being determined by its contribution to the methodological ideal of the complete behavior life-history (both neuro-muscular and symbolic behavior being included) of the individual leader or follower and of the behavior and tendencies to behavior existent at the time of study. The categories included in the study of Indian leaders were on the whole too few and too inadequately explored to approach very closely to this ideal, but they did make a beginning.

There are also several points concerning the interpretation of data. In the first place, there is the question mentioned earlier: Are the characteristics listed for



leaders certain, or likely, to induce follow-ership from those who listed them? The answer to this is basic to interpretations of the traits leaders are said to possess. Along with this question goes a kindred one: What, in terms of observable neuromuscular behavior even when it is conceptualized, is meant by the name of each trait of behavior, character, and personality by those who use the name? Only when this is known will it be possible to determine if individuals will follow in response to stimuli which they say they will respond to in this way.

Another very important need is a better isolation and measurement of the influence of variables than the study of Indian students was able to consummate. Besides the experimental method, which cannot be used to study all aspects of this problem, there are two ways of doing this. The first method would be by analysis of the data, if they were in a quantitative form, by means of partial and multiple correlations. This is the most popular method of determining the importance of isolated facts which are items in mass data collected in non-experimental situations. It was not used in the study of Indian students because some of the characteristics were not measured by methods which are refined enough.

The other method is a sort of experimental manipulation of data by which total cases are compared with others exactly alike except for one fact. This has only been suggested hitherto, but certain approaches<sup>7</sup> (which might be called a third method) have been made by the selection of cases so as to control certain variables. The matching of the cases in the judgments of personality traits in this study is an illustration.

<sup>7</sup> F. S. Chapin, "The Experimental Approach in the Study of Family Group Patterns," *Social Forces*, XI (1932-33), 200-207.

A complete use of this would mean extending it to a complete study and matching of cases until all factors are controlled but one. This may not be actually possible, but it theoretically is. Already it is possible to eliminate certain erroneous theories in this way, and the method has still greater possibilities.

The last suggestion for interpretation of data is alternative to the comparative study of leaders and followers. It is a method of comparing leaders with the total population of the group by determining the chances for selection as leader of a person with a given characteristic as compared with a person with other characteristics. The procedure is to compare the proportion of leaders who have a certain characteristic to the proportion of the total population with the same characteristic. The population here may be the total student body of a school or such other population as is adequately sampled by the leaders under consideration. The one drawback is the necessity of studying the entire population as the basis of comparison.

#### PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Already several problems for further investigation have been suggested in connection with methods, but there are still others of which some will be mentioned, which focus attention upon problems related to the study of Indian student leaders and followers. First, are the characteristics of leaders in the same school the same from school generation to generation? Second, what similarities and differences exist between the leaders and followers in one Indian school and another? Third, there should be a more complete study of race differences in characteristics of student leaders and followers, all races being included. And fourth, there should be greater emphasis upon the question of sex

differences in leader and follower characteristics than was given in the present study.

A still greater extension of research would embrace studies of actual student leadership and followership action *in situ*, by means of observations of stimuli and responses. Problems here include leader-follower differences in behavior, and in stimuli; school differences; race differences; and sex differences. Also, a problem grows out of the relationship of leader-follower characteristics, studied aside from interaction, to leadership and followership action.

Again, there should be an extension of research to the investigation of problems of other than student leadership. The main question here is: To what extent are there similarities and differences between leadership and followership and leader and follower characteristics in one situation and in other situations? Specifically, it should be of value to know if student leaders lead elsewhere, and what it is about student leadership that aids in leadership elsewhere. Also, do student fol-

lowers follow elsewhere, and what is it about them that determines their actions in other situations? Answers to these questions, however, would not be as significant as a body of knowledge concerning the actual traits of leaders and followers in every situation. From such data one could determine the common characteristics of all leaders and followers, and the kind and amount of difference in leader and follower characteristics that is determined by differences between situations.

This group of suggested problems is not exhaustive, but it has exhausted the space at my disposal. However, in this final paragraph, I should like again to call attention to the importance of the study of leadership. While it deservedly was not thought significant enough for inclusion in the special papers of the American Sociological Society at the last annual meeting, the field of leadership certainly deserves careful consideration at this time as to its limits, problems, sources of data, and methods. Believing this most strongly, I have taken this opportunity<sup>1</sup> at least to make a few suggestions.

Henry Seidel Canby, Editor of *The Saturday Review*, sends the following announcement:

*The Saturday Review* has the honor to announce a prize of \$1000 established by Mrs. Edith Anisfield Wolf in memory of her father, to be called the John Anisfield Award. The prize will be awarded annually after August first of each year, to a sound and significant book published in the previous twelve months, on the subject of racial relations in the contemporary world. The prize will be administered by a committee of judges consisting of Henry Seidel Canby, Editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology in New York University, and Donald Young of the Social Science Research Council. Books submitted for the award may be sent to the Anisfield Award Committee, care of "The Saturday Review," 25 West 45th Street, New York City. The first award will be made to a book published between August 1, 1934 and August 1, 1935.

<sup>1</sup> Jo  
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## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### COST AND EFFICIENCY OF AMERICAN CITY GOVERNMENT

HOWARD WOOLSTON

*University of Washington*

IN AN interesting discussion of Municipal Expenditures,<sup>1</sup> Dr. M. L. Walker presents data for 148 American cities, showing per capita costs and comparative ratings in service rendered. Average payments for expenses (operation and maintenance) of the principal general departments were obtained from Federal reports on Financial Statistics of Cities for 1923-27. Indices of efficiency were calculated from various returns concerning such functions as highway construction, street cleaning, protection of health (death rates) and property (fire losses), operation of schools and park areas. The grading of cities by these indices is then compared with different factors that apparently affect the results.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Walker shows that location and form of government influence effective performance. She also indicates that population, wealth, and cost per capita are involved. However, she does not define the relative importance of these last three variables in correlation with her indices. She merely points to general improvement with size, resources and contributions; but does not show how far such factors affect municipal service. Yet here is a promising approach to sharper analy-

sis of conditions determining the efficiency of civic agencies.

Curiosity prompted the reviewer to examine more carefully relations among the figures presented, with the hope of discovering significant tendencies unnoted by the industrious compiler. From such reconnaissance, certain statistical trends appear, which may be quickly summarized.

First, urban wealth (gauged by estimated true valuation of real property) increases more rapidly than population. This is shown by the tendency of per capita wealth to mount with the size of places considered.

Second, municipal expenditures rise more sharply than wealth. This is shown by the larger ratio of per capita costs to per capita wealth, as the higher end of both sequences is approached.

Third, indices of civic efficiency increase more slowly than either wealth or costs. This is shown by the falling ratio of service ratings to per capita expenditures, as both mount.

Fourth, arraying wealth, costs and efficiency by the size of cities reveals less marked relations among the first three variables than does pairing their values directly.

Apparently, population produces wealth; which, in turn, establishes an upper limit for expenditure (e.g., taxable property); and this amount allows a certain degree of excellence in municipal service.

Restricting our attention to the relation between costs and efficiency, we find that an average increase in expenditure of two

<sup>1</sup> Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. V.

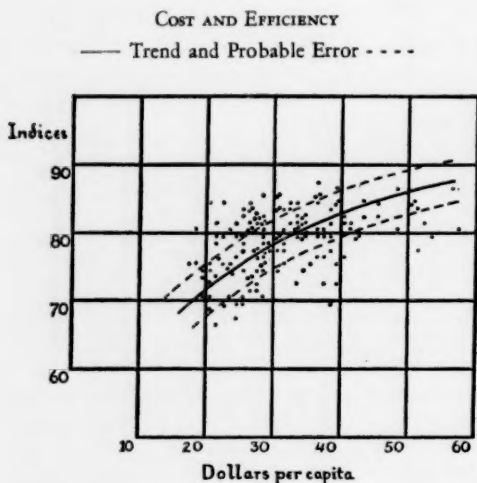
dollars per capita, raises the service index about one point on Dr. Walker's scale. More exactly, efficiency equals 6.2 times cost per capita to the .209<sup>th</sup> power. This means that improvement in municipal service, thus measured, mounts a little more rapidly than the fifth root of per capita expenditure—an interesting illustration of the law of diminishing returns.

The constant 6.2 is required, because Dr.

plete percentile scale. More accurately, the amended rating equals three times per capita cost with an exponent of .556. This means that the rising curve of service indices mounts somewhat more rapidly than the square roots of expenditures.

Obviously some of the data used in calculation are of doubtful value. This is patent for wealth, intercensal population, and estimates of efficiency. It is also true that dispersion about the trends described is wide, especially for the extravagant large cities over 500,000, and their smart suburbs. For instance, the mean square deviation of per capita expenditures from their average, as first defined two paragraphs above, is nearly \$8.50; and its probable error is  $\pm .366$ . Consequently the linear correlation of efficiency with cost is low ( $r_{ee} = .43 \pm .067$ ). This indicates that, for a given instance, the chance of finding values in both scales corresponding to the formula is less than fifty per cent. However, a positive relation between the variables is clear, and may be more accurately determined, as we have shown.

Our brief examination of Dr. Walker's data indicates that more fundamental connections may be found by analyzing carefully the mass of figures presented. This sifting cannot be done by the ordinary methods of public accounting. It requires some familiarity with mathematics—a useful tool, which municipal financiers sometimes fail to employ critically. We expect architects and engineers to compute exactly the strength and cost of structures. Can political economists do less in planning government?



Walker charitably begins her rating of service from 50, as the lowest score<sup>3</sup> (somewhat as 32° above zero fixes the freezing point on a Fahrenheit thermometer). If, less considerate, we distribute the grades proportionately between zero and one hundred,<sup>4</sup> then each dollar added to the average per capita expenditure, raises the service rating about one point on a com-

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> 2 (Index-50) = full percentile rank.



## CAPITALISM—AN OBSOLETE TOOL?

## THE OUTLINE OF AN IMPASSE

JAMES GILBERT EVANS

*University of North Carolina*

OUR inheritance from the fathers contains incongruous elements.

They bequeathed to us a will to create a democratic society and a powered-machine technology to provide a material basis for it. But along with these elements has come an organization of economic activity known as capitalism. It is characterized, first, by a dependence upon gain-seeking capitalist enterprisers (or their agents) to organize and manage voluntarily the production of goods and, second, by a dependence upon bargaining struggles in markets to divide the goods produced among those who control resources.

Gain-seeking enterprisers are supposed to compete with each other to provide goods of the highest possible quality, in the largest possible quantity, and at the lowest possible cost for those who get purchasing power to spend. It is painfully obvious today that they fail in the performance of this function.

Through bargaining struggles in the markets the privately owned and controlled resources are priced, and in this manner the amount of purchasing power (income) which each individual and group will get for use in buying goods to consume is determined. Many desirable results are supposed to flow from this process. Allegedly it causes resources to be used continuously and effectively; it encourages effective human effort; it causes purchasing power to fall into the hands of those who "deserve" it; it directs the capitalist enterprisers to produce those goods which can be sold and which will also promote social well-being (since indi-

viduals are supposed to know how to promote their own and the social interest as consumers and since each gets the income he deserves). But the market mechanisms do not measure up to these ideals set for them.

Whatever degree of democracy we have attained has been achieved in spite of capitalism rather than because of it. However well or ill capitalism may have served past generations, it cannot now be expected either to make a reasonably effective use of science and machines or to create a democratic society in which individuals have equal opportunity for what is currently considered the good life. There are many and obvious reasons why this is true.

Capitalism is an anachronism in a powered-machine age because it cannot coordinate a far-flung production organism effectively. Machine technology requires a division of labor between persons and between communities, near and far. Machines must be specialized and mass production is necessary if they are to be kept in continuous operation. Production units, such as farms, factories, mines, or transportation facilities, are interdependent, each depending for its own operation upon the outputs of the others. If production as a flow of goods is to be maximized the whole process must be coordinated. A delicate balance between the outputs of the various types of production units, considered singly and collectively, is therefore essential. When any output is "too small" or "too large" in any form or at any time or in any place, either some resources will be idle or they will be used uneconomically in that more important

goods could be produced. Consequently, in order for a machine technology with its accompanying division of labor to operate effectively, resources must be apportioned between possible uses so as to produce the proper quantities of all kinds of goods. This is impossible of attainment unless there is adequate knowledge of the probable total consumer demand and the probable output; and then only if the necessary information is actually used throughout all the industries to bring consumption and production into balance. But such coöperation between production units is incompatible with competition. Real gain-seeking competitors do not provide each other with such information and even if they did it would be almost useless, for each competitor, hoping to gain while the others lost, would not hesitate to depend upon others to make changes when the necessity for readjustment became obvious.

A concentration of control over the whole mechanism of resource utilization, sufficient to secure coördination and smooth working, appears to be necessary for the successful use of a machine technology. Furthermore, only by an integration of control over industries in general, as well as over the production units in particular industries, would chaos be removed. But if this control is in the hands of gain-seeking capitalists as outright monopolists, or as a result of coöperative action obtained through trade associations, N.R.A. codes or just voluntary working together to prevent "spoiling the market," they will try to maximize their own incomes rather than maintain continuous operation at capacity. They will control the methods and quantities of production, manipulating them in order to lower costs and keep prices up. Each coöperative but monopolistic group will seek to restrict output to whatever degree

appears to best serve its own interest regardless of the unemployment created, and, indeed, regardless of the injury to other industries whose products cannot be sold because of the diminished consumer purchasing power of idle workers. While competition is likely to waste by a chaotic over-expansion of industries, any sort of self-government or coöperation in industry under the control of capitalists will waste the nation's resources by a restriction of output.

Restriction of output in the interest of capitalists is an exceedingly common occurrence. To them it appears an absolute necessity and indeed it is an integral part of capitalism. The claim of capitalists on equipment, buildings, land, and "going" business concerns is conceived as an investment of a definite quantity measurable in money. Production policies are designed to maximize the returns on this investment and if they are large the amount of the investment itself is "written up." Very frequently rigid rates of return on investments are fixed by contract so that legal bankruptcy follows a failure to meet the fixed charges. Those who have voting and hence controlling power in corporations are the ones who stand to lose through bankruptcy—though actually all they may lose will be the possibility of future profits, for their "investments" frequently cost them nothing. So profitable has the flotation and jobbing of securities become that little care is exercised in actually providing productive resources for them to represent when they are issued. Whatever the situation, those who manage production units are under relentless pressure to make the securities which are really capitalized "water" as well as those representing genuine productive resources pay profits continuously in proportion to some set "value." The dominant motive in management is *profit for capitalists*.

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Such management must inevitably restrict output and waste other resources in an effort to increase profit margins.

As a matter of fact the whole scheme of capitalizing non-human resources with any expectation of permanency is quite impossible in a machine age. Technological progress, which greatly increases the per capita output of goods, inevitably and constantly tends to decrease the relative and perhaps absolute claims of capitalists on the output for either the prices of goods must be lowered or wages must be raised in order that those who can consume the increased output shall have the purchasing power to buy it. In either case, the net income of the capitalist corporations would not be sufficient to continually make the expected returns on their securities. Mr. Stuart Chase, in a recent article in *Harper's*, expressed the belief that the attainment of an age of plenty through a full use of our technology would result in disallowing practically all of the existing "capital claims." The same holds true for agriculture for, as Mead and Osterlenk recently wrote: "If American farmers were generally to adopt the proven methods of scientific agriculture, the farming industry would go quickly and in the grand manner into bankruptcy." Capitalists, both large and small, will be ruined by maximizing the results of human effort through scientific progress. As long as the economic order is managed by and for capitalists they will not permit our nation to enter the promised land of abundance and material well-being for all its citizens.

Technological change is also hampered under capitalism because each capitalist enterprise, by means of a patent monopoly or by jealously guarding "secret" processes, tries to prevent the spread of the more effective techniques among its competitors. Furthermore, under competi-

tion new machines and processes may be brought into use without reference to the social wastes caused by scrapping equipment that is not worn out, while under capitalist monopoly the adoption of new technology depends upon whether it furthers the interests of the capitalists, regardless of the social consequences. So capitalist enterprise, as operated through capitalist controlled proprietorship or corporate structures, is an obstacle rather than an aid to an economic progress that assimilates improved methods of production into the well-being of a democratic people.

## II

Capitalist enterprise, with its accompanying concentration of wealth and income, makes it extremely difficult if not impossible to obtain the mass consumption requisite for mass production. A prime imperative in a society using a machine technology is the consumption of practically all of the products of industry on an approximately equalitarian basis. Of course the rich capitalists might consume goods in proportion to their income and thus enable the economic order to operate smoothly, but there are two serious obstacles to their doing so. One is that the adherence to a democratic way of life demands an approximation of equality of opportunity for individual members of society to develop and use their respective capacities and to enjoy what is currently considered the good life. Such an equality of opportunities is a fundamental requisite for democracy. If the rich do consume in proportion to their income a better life for the many is sacrificed for a prodigious luxury for a few. Consequently, capitalist enterprise can endure only in a socially stratified society which makes no pretense to democracy.

The other obstacle to the rich consuming a considerable share of the total output is

that machines cannot be effectively used unless there is mass production. To produce luxuries for a few would require that we renounce a full use of machine technology because the real advantages of machines to a society can be secured only if purchasing power is so divided as to enable the consumption of their mass outputs. While machine technology does not require an absolute equality of individual incomes, the upper and lower limits cannot be far apart if mass production is to be pervasive. In a democratic society the upper and lower limits to the requisites for a good life cannot be far apart either, or democracy will be a farce. A very unequal division of the products of industry is, therefore, antithetical to both machine technology and to democracy.

## III

So it is impossible to coördinate consumption and production in general under capitalist enterprise and at the same time make effective use of our resources. There is not sufficient flexibility in such an economic order. When individuals and groups are permitted to use purchasing power to direct the production of whatever types and quantities of goods they please, a concentration of income into the hands of a few necessitates either large expenditures for luxuries or an increase in the output of machines and other capital goods as aids in production. A larger volume of capital goods should mean an increased future flow of goods for consumption, but to get them consumed it will be necessary to increase the purchasing power of those who have the physical capacity to consume, and whose well-being needs to be enhanced; otherwise it will be necessary to produce luxuries for the rich who can consume a great variety of goods but only a small quantity of each kind, thus precluding the use of machines whose output is

a mass of uniform unites of commodities; limited in variety. Conspicuous consumption is the only alternative to equalitarian consumption but it is not compatible with a machine technology.

Effective utilization of resources, under capitalism or any other economic order, can be achieved only if there is unlimited flexibility in the prices of the resources and of the consumption goods so that production and consumption may be balanced at the same time that the physical output of goods is maximized. But if prices are sufficiently flexible to accomplish that purpose, the income of the owners of capital goods most certainly could not be increased in proportion to other incomes and they might be reduced absolutely, depending upon the degree of price reduction necessary to get the goods consumed under a full utilization of all resources.

The problem of pricing goods and resources in a society characterized by rapid technological change has been ignored by economists mainly because they have not seen any difficulty in balancing production and consumption as long as goods could be sold abroad on credit. Even today eminent English and American economists argue vociferously that, under capitalist enterprise, the only way to end unemployment is to cut wages in order to increase profit margins, presumably finding consumers abroad. Of course, if a given country could avoid the necessity of consuming as much as it produces through selling abroad on credit, it would not be necessary to raise wages or lower prices for a time. Eventually, however, either the debts must be cancelled or real wages and taxes increased to permit the consumption of the goods imported as interest and principal payments. This fact is obvious enough if a nation is viewed as a social unit. For decades industrialized countries, especially the United States and



Great Britain, have been refusing to face the problems of dividing up purchasing power, and a vast volume of credit was extended to foreign consumers. But now there has come a realization that foreign loans cannot be collected except in goods and that if the loans become very large they cannot be collected at all. It has been recently estimated that we have given our foreign customers over twenty billion dollars worth of goods through making uncollectible loans to them. Had these goods or their equivalent been consumed by our wage earners it would have made possible a considerably higher level of living for them in terms of housing, education, recreation, food, clothing, working conditions, and leisure.

As far as the United States is concerned, it appears that we have reached the limit of lending abroad in order to avoid facing the problem of a more equal division of income at home. From now on production and consumption must balance without relying upon excessive exports to prevent increased domestic consumption. While extensive foreign trade is quite desirable, we shall have to consume approximately as much as we produce, even though we do not consume what we produce.

With respect to the economic relations between nations the results of capitalist enterprise have been particularly catastrophic. Nations are instruments of war and destruction as well as sovereign powers over the economic organization within their boundaries. With national power hitched to the interests of capitalists in international trade and finance, the peoples of the world have had to make tremendous sacrifices in human life and in resources for war purposes, in uncollected loans, and in both an anti-social freedom and an anti-social restriction of trade,—all in order that a few capitalists might be

enriched. A really wholesome and peace-seeking internationalism cannot develop when national states are dominated by capitalist enterprisers; their interests do not parallel the interests of their fellow-citizens.

## IV

If science and machines are to be effectively utilized to provide a basis for material well-being in a democratic society, there appears to be a limited number of procedures for organizing and controlling industries and dividing their products. The *requisite division of purchasing power* may be secured through: (1) heavy taxation; (2) widespread ownership; or (3) collective (state) ownership. An *effective use of resources* might be obtained through (1) state regulation of capitalist enterprises; (2) direct or indirect collective (state) operation of enterprise privately owned; or (3) collective (state) operation, combined with collective ownership.

None of these alternatives is really compatible with capitalist enterprise. If the problem of obtaining a reasonably equal division of income were solved through taxation and collective expenditure, the taxes would have to be so heavy as to make a mockery of private property. The owners of natural and produced resources could not be permitted to consume much more than non-owners. A widespread ownership of capital goods would be difficult to obtain and, when once achieved, it would be equally difficult to retain without drastic restriction of freedom in the ownership and control over resources and production units. Under the present rules in economic activity a few would eventually get control again. Finally, collective ownership of capital goods is, of course the antithesis of capitalism.

If state regulation is to be relied upon to regulate capitalism so that resources shall

be utilized to promote social well-being, the rights and freedom of capitalist enterprises will have to be so restricted and their duties so enlarged that gain-seeking would be subordinated to the promotion of social well-being. To some extent this is what the Roosevelt Administration is trying to bring about through the N.R.A., the A. A. A., and various extensions of governmental regulation; but, so far, the protection of special interests has prevented significant results. Such attempts to regulate capitalist enterprise are not likely to prove successful for the obvious reason that the state is going to be forced to duplicate much of the industrial management before it can regulate effectively, and the prime function of capitalist industrial managers will be to resist and deceive the government's regulators. Apparently for some time now the most important duties of the highly paid officials of privately owned electric utilities have been concerned with preventing adequate regulation by the states. In that case, direct management by government agencies may well prove far simpler and more effective.

Under collective or state enterprise the exercise of control over industries would be a professional matter, those in authority having the responsibility for keeping the national plant and all its parts running smoothly and at full speed. Free markets as we know them would be eliminated and prices would be arbitrarily fixed so that there would be a continuous flow of goods from production units to consumers, keeping production and consumption always in balance. The professional managers or industrial engineers would not operate industry to maximize personal or corporate gains but to use resources so effectively that the physical output of needed goods would be maximized.

An interesting suggestion of a procedure

whereby collective control could be achieved along with a considerable degree of private ownership is suggested by Paul O'Leary.<sup>1</sup> He thinks a national holding company might be formed which would issue only common stock with no-par value. This holding company would exchange its stock for the equities in existing corporations. Its board of directors would be appointed by the President of the United States. Each industry would then be organized on a corporate basis, all stock in the operating corporations being held by the national holding company and they could issue no bonds. The result would be collective control of nearly all enterprise, but individual ownership of the common, non-voting stock of the national holding company. The dividends would reflect the earnings of the corporate industries generally, and there could be no legal bankruptcies. Price policies would aim to get the goods consumed, and, as technological progress caused larger outputs, the prices of goods could go down or wages up in whatever degree desirable. There could be no depressions or serious unemployment because the management would have no incentive to leave resources idle. Price policies would also be formulated so as to direct the production of capital goods in the desired types, thus controlling the rate of technological change in the social interest. Excessive concentration of wealth and income would have to be removed and prevented in the future through inheritance, income taxes, and other limitations of freedom to acquire property. The state would have to assume the duty of providing wide opportunities for the collective use of educational, recreational, health, housing and other facilities. Such an economic order would be classed as a "planned economy," but it might be made

<sup>1</sup> *The Corporation in Modern Economic Life.*

quite harmonious with the essential ideals and practices of a democratic society.

A scheme characterized by both collective control and collective ownership of industries would be classed as socialism. Wages, the prices of consumers goods, the extent of collective consumption, and the rate and volume of technological change would be controlled by the appropriate agencies (under any collectivistic scheme of organization). Its chief advantages, once it were established, would be in the simplicity of its organization and in the possibility of so centralizing authority and responsibility, through democratic processes, that the whole economic system would be flexible and resilient, responding easily and quickly to changes in technology and in consumer demand.

Capitalism is merely a social tool or technique which a part of mankind has used during a time when a conjuncture of dynamic factors—social objectives, social attitudes, and technology—made its use possible. Now it appears to be an obsolete tool because it cannot do the work that is desired of it; it cannot efficiently organize the agencies of production, and it cannot bring about a division of the products of industry that will make our society a true democracy. If we retain capitalism, we shall have to give up a democratic way of life as an ideal and substitute a feudal society with capitalists as

overlords, and we shall have to renounce a *full* use of machine technology.

Major changes in the economic order can be brought about only through conflict of a very serious nature. The attempt to supplant capitalism, which appears certain to be made because it cannot produce the kind of civilization we want, may be so violently resisted as to plunge our social and economic organization into chaos, making the immediately succeeding decades a sort of "dark ages." It may even mean the fulfillment of Spengler's prophecy that there will be a "decline of the West." However, the supplanting of capitalism might be accomplished without serious social destruction and a new economic order might develop under which the peoples of the world will work with renewed vitality to reach a level of culture so high that we can now but dream of it. If we do make the transition from capitalism to an economic order more harmonious with our social aims and our technology without the destruction of desirable elements in our civilization, it will be because we have developed a social intelligence and a social organization that facilitate rapid institutional readjustment to meet changing conditions, and because we have created a society in which the interest of a few may be subordinated to the interest of the many without violence and destruction.

## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### BRITISH DISMISSAL GRATUITIES<sup>1</sup>

G. T. SCHWENNING

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#### THE SITUATION IN GENERAL

GR<sup>EAT</sup> Britain is entitled to a prominent place in the history of the dismissal compensation movement. Such recognition in any narrative of this new practice in labor relations is justifiable when due consideration is given such factors as the number of dismissal wage plans, their truly voluntary nature, the unique features of some plans, the sound motive and enlightened attitude back of the establishment of such plans, and their significance in the economic life of the nation.

While facts are not available to show the total number of British companies that voluntarily award dismissal gratuities to their redundant workers, the practice is more general in England than in all other European countries combined. Furthermore, it is certain that the actual number of English companies that have incorporated the payment of dismissal wages in their labor policy is greater than the list given herewith, for several firms operating a considerable number of plants that are

known to have made pecuniary provisions for their excess personnel declined to disclose the details of their schemes. Though it may be incorrect to conclude from the voluntary plans described in this survey that the payment of dismissal gratuities is representative of British personnel practice or that there exists in Great Britain a dismissal compensation movement as such, the practice of paying dismissal gratuities is spreading and there is evidence of the development of a strong tendency toward such a movement.

Industries represented in the present survey include flour milling, gas and coke, soap and margarine, chemicals, electrical equipment, cocoa and chocolate, brewing, dyeing, paper and stationery, steel, matches, and others. Several of the schemes cover an entire industry on a national scale, and some form a part of the labor policy of companies that virtually control the whole trade in the industry. The combined working forces of the industries making use of dismissal wage plans probably number over several hundred thousand workpeople, for the gas industry employs 80,000 people alone.

The practice of paying dismissal compensation is not new in British labor relations. While no specific laws have been passed that impose the giving of notice of

<sup>1</sup> The writer spent some time in Europe making a study of the dismissal compensation movement abroad. During his investigation of British practice he came into contact with officials of most of the firms whose dismissal gratuity schemes are presented in this survey.



dismissal or the payment of wages in case of abrupt discharge, workers hired for indefinite periods have by virtue of a long-standing custom acquired a right to such notification, and to compensation in its absence, a right that is upheld by common law. The length of the notice varies with commercial and trade usage and with the worker's occupational classification, though in a general way it corresponds to the pay period.<sup>2</sup> However, the schemes described herewith go beyond the customary practice and are wholly voluntary in character. They owe their existence not to custom as in Japan, not to the requirements of law as in many foreign countries, and not to the intervention of the labor movement as in the Netherlands, but rather to the initiative of the managements of the firms concerned as in the United States.

Historically, two major types of dismissal wage plans have been established in England: (1) plans to provide for normal lay-offs arising out of seasonal and trade depressions, and (2) plans to provide for abnormal dismissals arising out of the modernization of industry. The earlier schemes, one of which dates back to 1907, were intended to instill in employees a greater sense of economic security than that provided by state unemployment insurance since 1911. Essentially they were unemployment benefit schemes supplementary to those provided by the government. They represent steps taken voluntarily by industries that were already being taxed to maintain schemes which the government regarded to be sufficient for the protection of the country's workers.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of the workers' rights under this custom see G. T. Schwenning, "British Law Regulating the Termination of Labor Contracts," *North Carolina Law Review*, December, 1933, pp. 1-19.

Valuable as are these additional unemployment benefits, far greater interest and significance attaches to the dismissal allowance schemes that have been developed since 1927 under the exigency of the forces included in the broad term "rationalization." Where such rationalization resulted in a permanent reduction of personnel, schemes were designed in several cases with a view to accomplishing a lasting occupational readjustment for the displaced workers. Most of the existing schemes are formal, though in the majority of cases the firms reserve the right to modify or abolish them by giving three months' notice. One scheme is remarkable for the fact that it is contractual, thus giving the worker a legal claim upon compensation for dismissal and for any loss sustained in wage reductions following a merger of enterprises.

No standard practice is followed in paying leaving gratuities. As a rule payments are based on some combination of factors such as the worker's years of service, earnings, age, needs, and minimum service requirements. Sums actually awarded vary greatly from firm to firm and are made in the form of partial pensions, periodic payments, and lump sum grants. Usually no special sums are set aside for the payment of dismissal compensation, the cost being charged to current operating expenses. At times the funds are contributed jointly by the employees and the company, though more commonly they are provided entirely by the company or the industry. In the case of the gas industry, dismissal compensation is a part of the purchase price of an industry that is amalgamated by a purchasing company.

It is an interesting fact that the schemes are found most frequently in firms that enjoy a reputation for the high quality of their management and for their excellent labor relations and working conditions.

## OUTLINES OF COMPANY PLANS

*Match industry*<sup>3</sup>

The Joint Industrial Council for the Match Manufacturing Industry adopted a voluntary unemployment benefit scheme in 1921 which includes among its beneficiaries workers permanently laid off due to lack of work. It is the purpose of the scheme "to remove as completely as possible from the minds of the workers the anxiety which they may feel owing to the risk of unemployment through trade depression." To create a fund for paying dismissal compensation, the six companies composing the organization agreed to set aside sums equal to 1 per cent of the wages paid during each year until the unemployment fund reached an amount equalling not less than 5 per cent of the yearly wages, an objective reached by 1930, and thereafter to set aside annually such sums as to maintain the fund at that minimum amount.

Adult workers who were continuously employed by one of the constituent firms for six months prior to their dismissal and who hold membership in their trade union are eligible to receive one week's pay for every two months' service up to two and one-half years and one week's pay for each complete year beyond two and one-half years' service. Compensation paid in 1930 was at the rate of 9 s. per week for men and 5 s. per week for women, with an additional payment in the case of married workers of 1 s. 6 d. per week for each dependent child, not exceeding three, under 16 years of age. These benefits are paid in addition to trade union and state unemployment benefits, but the combined

amount may not exceed the average wages received by the worker during thirteen weeks preceding his dismissal.

*Rowntree & Company, Ltd., York*<sup>4</sup>

One of the most noteworthy voluntary schemes on record for dealing humanely with surplus personnel is that of the firm of Rowntree & Company, cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, long renowned for its enlightened labor policies. The scheme has been gradually evolved during the last decade, the company having established in 1920 an unemployment benefit fund to be used for providing weekly benefits to workers laid off owing to shortage of work. More recently, however, large reductions of staff (from 7,111 in 1923 to 5,300 in 1931), due chiefly to the introduction of labor-saving machinery and modernized production methods, led the company to formulate a broader scheme, a scheme based on the principle that the greatest need of a dismissed worker is

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Employer's Plan for Helping Displaced Workers," *Industrial and Labour Information*, December 17, 1928, p. 365; "Finding Work for Displaced Men: Results of Rowntree's Experiment," *Manchester Guardian*, August 12, 1929, p. 5; "Messrs. Rowntree's Subsidy Scheme," *Industrial and Labour Information*, September 9, 1929, p. 346 and September 30, 1929, p. 470; "A New Method of Placing Displaced Men," *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 1929, pp. 190-191; C. H. Northcott, "The Degree to Which An Employer Should Take Steps to Deal with Unemployment Arising Out of Rationalisation in His Factory," *Twenty-Ninth Lecture Conference for Works Directors, the Managers, Foremen and Forewomen Held at Balliol College, Oxford*, September 26 to 30, 1929, pp. 46-51; Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-361; "How Rowntree & Company (Ltd.), of York, England, Deals with Technological Unemployment," *Law and Labor*, April, 1930, pp. 94-96; Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-414; *Rationalisation and Displaced Labour* (National Industrial Alliance, London, 1931); "The Dismissal Wage," *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1930, p. 4; "The Labour Manager and the Process of Rationalisation," *Welfare Work*, November, 1930, pp. 198-201; James A. Bowie, *Rationalisation*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, "Employers' Additional Unemployment Benefit Schemes in Great Britain," *International Labour Review*, March, 1930, pp. 352-355; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain*, pp. 405-408.

other employment rather than a sum of money by way of indemnity for the loss of his job. This broader scheme embraces these features: (1) periodic and lump sum unemployment benefits, (2) assistance to men to set themselves up in business, (3) a wage subsidy to other companies to employ its redundant workers, (4) the establishment of new industries to provide jobs, and (5) premature pensions to older workers.

The scheme is financed entirely by the company. A sum of £10,000 was set aside when the labor policy was formulated in 1920, and the fund is maintained by annual additions sufficient to keep the fund up to £10,000 or 1 per cent of the wage bill, whichever is greater. Every worker over 18 years of age who has six months' continuous service to his credit, and who has contributed regularly not less than 2 d. per week into his trade union funds or some other benefit society approved by the company, is covered by the plan. Previous to April, 1931, benefits to persons dismissed ensured that with state and union payments the total weekly benefit amounted to 50 per cent of average weekly earnings, plus 10 per cent for a dependent wife and 5 per cent for each child under 16 years of age, up to a maximum of 75 per cent of average weekly earnings. One week's benefit was given for each two months' continuous service up to two and a half years, and after that an additional week's benefit for each three months' service. The minimum benefit was 25 s. per week for men and 20 s. per week for those under 20 years of age.

In 1931 the following flat rates of benefit, varying according to dependency, were introduced: 8 s. per week for a single person, 7 s. per week additional for a dependent wife, and 2 s. per week additional for each of not more than three dependent children. The maximum, with state and

union benefits, which a dismissed employee may draw is 75 per cent of average weekly earnings. The period of benefit is one week for each four months of continuous service, counting from the 18th birthday.

Since 1924 the company has resorted to the alternative of finding other avenues of employment for its surplus workers. In that year staff reductions became necessary owing to improvements in organization, and the dismissed employees were assisted in several ways. First, an employment advisory committee was set up to help men dismissed to establish some sort of business for themselves. Second, they were given financial help for this purpose by the firm in the form of a lump sum up to a maximum of £125 composed of 75 per cent of the unemployment pay to which they were entitled under the firm's unemployment benefit scheme, plus a service award of one week's pay for each year of service beyond five years. By this means 103 dismissed workers were enabled to enter business on their own account by May, 1932.

A further step was taken in the development of the scheme in 1928 when more mechanization and changes in methods of organization resulted in a surplus of 116 men. The labor market in York could not absorb any more surplus men, so Rowntree & Company undertook to find employers outside of York who could use the services of these workers. Through newspaper advertisements a wage subsidy was offered of £2 a week for a period of one year to any firm willing to engage any of these men at a minimum wage of 55 s. per week with a reasonable degree of permanency. In this way 21 men were placed in new jobs.

But the company needed still to provide for the remaining 95 excess men. Of this number, 47 were over 55 years of age and they were pensioned, receiving from 25 s. a week for men between 55 and 60 years of

age up to full pension for men over 60 years of age, though the normal pension age in the firm is 65. The remaining men were dealt with under the normal unemployment insurance plan. By reason of their long service, their benefits ran on an average for eighteen months and in an extreme instance for two years.

Early in 1929 it became necessary to dispense with the services of further men, and in providing for them the company developed what is probably the most remarkable feature of its whole dismissal compensation scheme—the establishment of new factories to absorb its surplus workers. Feeling that it was undesirable to withdraw men from York in any large number and following the principle that the only real remedy for unemployment is to find other work, the directors of Rowntree & Company decided to invest capital in fresh industries in York. Once having decided on this step, the problem confronted was that of inaugurating industries that were likely to increase in strength and in their demand for workers. Furthermore, the new industries needed to be enterprises that employed adult male labor and in which the bulk of the work could be done by men without special training.

After devoting considerable research to the matter of discovering industries that met these conditions, three new industries were found and established in York, one manufacturing gas water-heaters, one rubber products, and the other chromium plated goods. Rowntree & Company supplied the necessary capital and the administration, and the factories were established on a small scale and housed in an empty warehouse owned by the firm. An interest was also acquired in a glass factory to which a few surplus men were transferred. In addition, a button factory was established in 1930. The owner closed his factory in Holland and with

financial aid from Rowntree & Company transferred it to York, bringing with him a skeleton staff to train Rowntree & Company's redundant men in the various processes. These new industries provided employment for 74 surplus men.

This method of dealing with the problem of the worker's economic insecurity and technological unemployment, features of which are probably unique in the history of labor relations, has entailed the expenditure of considerable sums of money. The annual cost of the scheme has ranged from £2,500 in 1922 to £13,690 in 1930. The firm regards the expenditure as being wholly justifiable, and it is satisfied with the social soundness and with the accomplishments of the scheme.

#### *St. Andrew Steel Works, Edinburgh<sup>5</sup>*

Provision for the payment of dismissal allowances in the St. Andrew Steel Works, a branch of Redpath, Brown & Company, Ltd., is included in an unemployment and sickness benefit scheme that was inaugurated in 1923 and is known as the St. Andrew Steel Works Club. In establishing the scheme the chief executive stated that the company "realised that the fear of unemployment is the greatest bugbear of a working man's life, and a source of anxiety which cannot but adversely affect his working powers," and that this scheme "is an endeavor to relieve the minds of the Company's employees from the fear of unemployment through sickness or slackness in trade." Funds are provided by an original grant from the company of £1,000. All members of the club, that is, employees 21 years of age and over who have been continuously in the service of the company for at least one year, contribute 4 d. per week. This contribution is

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-477; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-433.



matched with an equal sum by the company.

Dismissal compensation is payable on the basis of one week's full benefit for each two months' membership in the club up to a maximum of thirteen weeks, and half the benefits for an additional thirteen weeks. The actual amounts payable under the scheme are 15 s. per week for the first thirteen weeks and 7 s. 6 d. per week for the next thirteen weeks, plus 1 s. per week for the first thirteen weeks and 6 d. per week for the next thirteen weeks for each child under 14 years of age. The combined weekly benefits may not exceed the employee's average weekly wage. To be entitled to receive any dismissal compensation, the worker must have been in the employ of the company for at least 15 consecutive months immediately preceding the date of his unemployment, and must have paid not less than 13 contributions to the fund during that time.

*John Dickinson & Company, Ltd., London*<sup>6</sup>

This large paper manufacturing firm established an unemployment benefit scheme in 1927 which provides for the payment of gratuities to workers dismissed permanently. The funds for the purpose are contributed by the workers and company jointly. All workers who have been employed by the company six months or more are covered by the plan and are entitled to compensation upon dismissal for a period of 12 weeks. The compensation is paid weekly and amounts to 10 s. for the first 6 weeks and 5 s. for the second 6 weeks to men under 18 years of age, 20 s. for the first 6 weeks and 10 s. for the second 6 weeks to men 18 years of age or over, 5 s. for the first 6 weeks and 2 s. 6 d. for the second 6 weeks to women under 18 years of

age, and 10 s. for the first 6 weeks and 5 s. for the second 6 weeks to women 18 years of age and over.

*Bradford Dyers' Association, Ltd., Bradford*<sup>7</sup>

The Bradford Dyers' Association has long held the view that unemployment schemes, to be sound, should be provided by industries and not by the state. In testifying before the Ministry of Labour Unemployment Insurance Committee, executives stated the association's position in the following terms: "We submit that the main considerations in any economically sound Unemployment Scheme are, firstly, that it should secure that unemployment is reduced to a minimum, and secondly, that it should provide for this unavoidable minimum on an adequate scale. The State scheme does not accomplish either of these ends."

In harmony with this policy, the association entered into an agreement in 1907, four years before the state unemployment insurance scheme was established, with the trade unions to provide a joint fund for the purpose of paying dismissal allowances. Under the scheme compensation was paid to workers "displaced from any cause." The benefits amounted to 16 s. per week for the first 10 weeks and 10 s. per week for the second 10 weeks.

The scheme has recently been discontinued. The agreement lapsed at the instance of the unions when they gave notice in connection with a wages application, but it was the practice of the association down to the middle of 1931 to allow the unions to disburse an allowance, usually 10 s. per week in the case of adult males, for a period to those dismissed due

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-380; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-436.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ministry of Labour Unemployment Insurance Committee, *Report and Minutes of Evidence*, Vol. 2, 1927, pp. 187-199; Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-356; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

to amalgamation, closing of works, or similar reasons. The period extended to 20 weeks in most of the cases which arose, but of later years the particular circumstances of each case were taken into account and the period cut down.

*J. S. Fry & Sons, Ltd., Bristol and Somerdale*<sup>8</sup>

The extensive welfare activities of this chocolate and cocoa manufacturing company include the payment of dismissal compensation to workers permanently laid off for reasons other than inefficiency or misconduct. The scheme, which is non-contributory, was started in 1927 when shifts in consumer demand and technological improvements in the Somerdale factory made it necessary for the company to reduce the number of its workers.

Workers in good standing receive weekly dismissal allowances for a period of 39 weeks when they are discharged for lack of work. Depending upon age, sex, and the number of dependents, the dismissal gratuities paid range from 6 s. to 25 s. for the first 13 weeks, from 5 s. to 12 s. 6 d. for the second 13 weeks, and amount to 7 s. 6 d. for the third 13 weeks in the case of married men or single men with dependents. These payments cease after the first week in new employment. In addition to such dismissal gratuities, a cash service award is granted to dismissed long-service employees amounting to from £7 10 s. for service ranging from 10 to 14 years to £15 for 25 years' service and over.

*Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.*<sup>9</sup>

At the formation of the chemical and allied trades' merger in 1927, consideration

was given to the problem of labor displacement occurring consequent upon the concentration of manufacture, improvements in production methods, etc. A policy for dealing systematically and sympathetically with all workers so displaced was established and provides for (1) transfers from one works to another, (2) granting premature pensions or gratuities, and (3) one month's notice of dismissal to staff grade workers.

As to transfers, the routine observed by all works assures notification being sent to the central labor department of immediate and prospective changes in their labor position, so that in the event of any labor becoming redundant at one works, those works which require additional labor are notified with a view to transfers being effected.

At the discretion of the management, workers who are retired from the company's service through no fault of their own before the established retirement age of 65, if they have completed not less than 10 years of pensionable service, may be granted a partial pension or a dismissal gratuity based on their age, length of service, and wages. The same procedure is followed in the case of workers who are displaced from their employment due to the closing of plants or departments.<sup>10</sup>

All workers who have completed 5 years of continuous service with the company or with one of its constituent firms and who are 26 years of age or over are eligible for promotion to staff grade rank. The promotion confers several advantages upon the worker, among them a month's advance notice of suspension or termination of employment.

Continuance of *ex gratia* payments is not

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-368; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-425.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-381; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

<sup>10</sup> Since *ex gratia* payments are variable at the discretion of the management, the firm prefers not to disclose the scale of pensions and gratuities or the number of workers who have benefited by grants.

contingent on the failure of the worker to secure other employment, except that if any worker in receipt of a pension or gratuity is subsequently re-employed by any subsidiary or associated company such pension or gratuity ceases. His case is, however, reconsidered and the amount of pension or gratuity recalculated when he is again discharged. Before any payments are made, in all appropriate cases every possible effort is made to find suitable alternative employment. The payment of a pension or gratuity is discontinued if any worker unreasonably refuses an offer of re-employment within the company.

The provisions of the scheme apply to female as well as male workers, but not to foremen or forewomen. When foremen or forewomen are dismissed on grounds of redundancy, not being eligible for pension under the contributory funded pension scheme for foremen and forewomen, each case is examined on its merits and a gratuity award is made in appropriate cases.

#### *Soap and margarine industry*<sup>11</sup>

Lever Brothers, Limited, well known soap manufacturers of Port Sunlight, has introduced two schemes of dismissal compensation, one to deal with cases arising under normal conditions, and one to deal with cases arising out of abnormal conditions caused by rationalization. The first scheme, inaugurated in 1928 as part of the company's employment guarantee and unemployment benefit plan, applies to all workers who have reached the age of 22 years and who have completed 4 years of service. Benefits are paid for a period of

12 weeks equal to three-quarter's wages for a full working week, less 4½ hours' pay per week and less the state unemployment benefit. If the employee has completed 15 years' service he receives a sum equal to a full week's wages, less the above deductions. If, after the end of the twelfth week of unemployment the company is still unable to provide work, the employee is dismissed and given one week's wages in lieu of notice provided in the firm's employment agreement. Benefits cease if the employee rejects an offer of suitable employment either from the company or from some other firm.

The second scheme was introduced in 1930, after Lever Brothers was merged with Unilever Limited, to compensate workers who are dismissed in consequence of rationalization. The first step on the part of the cartel, which is said to include over 800 enterprises, in applying the scheme was the appointment of rationalization and labor committees. On the recommendation of these committees, the boards of Unilever and Lever Brothers approved the following regulations for observance in all cases of rationalization and internal reorganization, and these regulations apply to all employees of Lever Brothers and associated companies:

(1) A plan is provided for transferring surplus workers from one factory to another within the Unilever and Lever organizations. In order to facilitate such transfers a central organization was set up to act as a clearing house.

(2) Employees aged 60 or more but under 65 are granted a premature and partial pension subject to having a minimum of 15 years' service to their credit. The rate of pension is one-eightieth of the employee's wages multiplied by the number of complete years of service. Employees between the ages of 55 and 59 are considered according to their circum-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. Brussel, "La concentration industrielle et l'indemnisation des travailleurs congédiés," *L'Internationale Syndicale Chrétienne*, 7ième Année, No. 4, 1929, pp. 50-55; Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-371; *The Times* (London), May 1, 1930, p. 24; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 426-427; Vicount Leverhulme, "The House That Lever Built," *Industry*, March 24, 1934, pp. 2-3.

stances, and the employing companies have full discretionary powers to grant pensions on the above basis where there is a minimum service as follows: in 1930 of 10 years, in 1931 of 11 years, etc., up to 1935 when the minimum stands at 15 years.

(3) All employees with a minimum of 5 years' service, who are not granted a premature pension, are paid a leaving gratuity of 2 weeks' pay for each year of service.

#### *Flour milling industry*<sup>12</sup>

The rationalization and amalgamation of this industry, which dates back to 1928, has resulted in the closing down of numerous small plants and the loss of employment for several hundred millers. At the request of the labor representatives on the National Joint Industrial Council of the industry, steps were taken to alleviate the hardships of the workers who were displaced by the shutting down and modernizing of mills. It appears that the industry as a whole must shrink in size for some years to come, and that there is little possibility of the trade reabsorbing the supernumerary millers in the near future. The fundamental purpose of the scheme that has been devised for assisting these surplus workers is, therefore, not so much that of helping them survive by the grant of a sum of money until business conditions in the trade improve as to assist them in making a permanent occupational readjustment.

The first task in the alleviation program

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Eleventh Annual Report, 1929-1930, Twelfth Annual Report, 1930-1931, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1931-1932* (National Joint Industrial Council for the Flour Milling Industry, London); "Rationalisation in Practice: A British Flour-Milling Scheme," *Bulletin of the International Management Institute*, February, 1931, pp. 31-32; "An Industrial Council and Rationalisation: Scheme for Compensation," *Welfare Work*, March, 1931, p. 281; *Reprint from Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Thirty-Eighth Day, Friday, 17, July, 1931; Rationalisation and Displaced Labour* (National Industrial Alliance, London, 1931).

set up was that of providing the necessary funds. This responsibility was assumed by the employers' side of the council, which solicited voluntary donations for the purpose. As a rule the seller of a mill was asked to make a contribution since his workers would suffer in consequence of the sale of the plant. Where the seller failed to respond, the buyer of the mill was approached and he usually made a contribution to the fund. In this manner a sum of £19,700 was collected in voluntary contributions from employers for aiding workers who lost their jobs.

Distribution of the funds was placed in the hands of local joint committees. The committees acted, first of all, as an employment bureau. Through contacts with civil and municipal agencies, employment exchanges, and other sources of employment, new jobs were found for two-thirds of the millers who had been displaced.

Each case was carefully considered on its merits after house to house visits by the committees. In administering relief, the committees proceeded on the principle of being sparing in granting actual weekly relief but being generous in helping men to become resettled in other employment. Cash disbursements have been made in the following manner.

(1) For men 60 years of age and over, annuities were purchased varying in amount from 7 s. 6 d. to 15 s. per week. For one man an annuity of only 5 s. per week was bought, but in his case the balance of a mortgage on his house of £100 was paid, so that he is now living in his own home rent free. In all annuities were purchased for 34 men.

(2) Periodic payments were made to men under 60 years of age of 6 s. per week to married men or to single men with dependents, and 3 s. per week to single men without dependents living at home. The sums were purposely kept at a low



figure in order to encourage the men to seek other work rather than to depend on the gratuity. In cases of proved necessity the sums were supplemented by special grants.

(3) If a man obtained work in another town, a separation allowance of from 15 s. to £1 per week was paid to his wife up to a maximum period of 3 months, during which time the man was expected to find suitable accommodations for his family. If such accommodations has been secured the council paid the expense of removing the home.

(4) Lump sum grants were made in certain cases to help men get started in business on their own account. Such lump sum grants were made for the following selection of interesting purposes: The stocking of a general shop; purchase of a baker's oven; setting up of two men in partnership in a drapery business; purchase of carpenter's tools; purchase of a boot-repairing business; purchase of a horse and cart for a green-grocery business; purchase of tools, etc., to set a man up as a cabinet-maker; payment of a man's fare to emigrate to Canada; cost of a hut in which to sell refreshments; purchase of an insurance book; purchase of second-hand motorcycles and bicycles for men who found work at a distance and were unable to reach their work by bus or train; purchase of a second-hand Ford van for carting coal from collieries; purchase of a circular-saw for cutting timber; purchase of a cornet to enable a man to re-enter a theatre orchestra; later this man found that his teeth were not satisfactory, so some new teeth were brought for him; part-payment of a deposit to enable a man and his father to take a public house; purchase of a newspaper shop; tools to enable two older men to get work as jobbing gardeners; boots, overalls, and shovels for several men who obtained jobs necessitating these implements; payment of a course in motor-

driving for a man who had a job waiting for him on condition that he learned to drive and do repairs; cost of setting a man up in poultry farming.

Of the total number of 556 displaced men who came within the council's scheme, 377 had been resettled in various new jobs by June, 1931, leaving 179 men still out of work. In its June, 1932, report the council stated that 73 per cent of the men concerned had been resettled in other employment or had been provided with annuities.

*Cadbury Brothers, Ltd., Bournville*<sup>13</sup>

In the Cadbury firm, manufacturers of cocoa and chocolate products, mechanization and other methods of increasing efficiency, both productive and distributive, have been carried out to a considerable degree during the past 8 years. The combined result of these factors has been to increase considerably the output per operator and to decrease labor requirements. Expressed in figures, the total labor requirements have decreased by 25 per cent since 1926, when the total working force numbered nearly 11,000.

When short time working and/or discharge became inevitable, the impact on the employee was lessened in various ways. One was by the payment for short time. A fund had been provided in 1923, combining a short time compensation scheme and a prosperity sharing scheme. Payment from the fund is made on a specified scale for time lost over a certain amount in any working week. Allowance is paid in respect of the number of hours exceeding 4 by which the hours worked in any week are less than the employee's normal working hours of such a week, on a basis agreed between the employer and the trade

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-365; and Mary Barnett Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-422.

unions. Amounts paid ranged from 6s. to 26s. per week.

Another method was to accelerate necessary development work already planned for, and to carry it out by factory labor. In this way extensions to railway sidings and roads and other work have been carried out.

There was also a certain amount of voluntary leaving over a period, deliberately encouraged by financial assistance to emigrate, to learn new trades, to set up in business, or to extend existing businesses owned by employees or their wives. These schemes were carried on when discharges became unavoidable, and many men were helped to become motor haulage contractors, landscape and market gardeners, window cleaners, etc., or to open florists shops, fish-and-chip and other businesses. Loans were also made in selected cases.

Those who were not helped in one of the above ways are paid an allowance for a period of 18 weeks, providing they have completed 2 years' continuous service or more, varying in amounts from 2s. 6d. per week to 22s. per week, depending upon sex, age, and family responsibility. A proportionate allowance is made for less than 2 years' service if the service period is not less than 6 months. Lump sum payments in the form of service awards are also made amounting to from £7 10s. to £20 to men with a service record of from 5 to 20 years or over, and from £2 to £6 to women with a service record of from 10 to 15 years or over.

#### *Style & Winch, Ltd., Maidstone*<sup>14</sup>

In 1929 the firm of Style & Winch, brewers, concluded a pooling agreement with Barclay, Perkins & Company, Ltd., of London. Owing to this new arrangement, the output at Maidstone was mate-

rially reduced. This reduction in output resulted in an excess of workers, and the company found it necessary to dispense with the services of a number of men. Some of the men let out were old employees who had served the company for many years, and these were put on the company's pension roll prematurely. Others who did not qualify for a pension were given a substantial gratuity upon dismissal.

#### *Gas industry of Great Britain and Ireland*<sup>15</sup>

Another important British industry that is being rationalized is the gas industry. As a means of mitigating the hardships of the loss of employment resulting from the process of rationalization and from amalgamations, an agreement was concluded in 1930 between the employers and the trade unions in the industry that provides a formal scheme for compensating workers who may be displaced. The scheme is noteworthy for several reasons. In the first place, it covers practically all of the large gas firms in Great Britain and Ireland and fully 75 per cent of all gas undertakings, and applies to 80,000 workers engaged in the industry. Second, the scheme is administered by a National Joint Industrial Council for the Gas Industry, located in London. Third, the scheme of dismissal compensation is formal and contractual. Thus a worker knows fairly definitely what indemnity he may expect if his job is abolished or his wages are reduced in consequence of rationalization or merger, and the payment of such indemnity is a legally binding obligation upon the industry.

Any worker who has suffered loss of employment due to an amalgamation of gas firms is entitled to compensation, providing he has served one of the amalgamating undertakings for a period of 3 or more

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *The Times* (London), June 25, 1930, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *The Times* (London), May 1, 1930, p. 16.

years immediately preceding the amalgamation. Dismissal compensation is payable weekly by the purchasing undertaking according to the following scale: 2 weeks' pay for each year of service to men 50 years of age or over;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  weeks' pay for each year of service to men 45 years of age but under 50 years, one week's pay for each year of service to men under 45 years of age. The amount of the weekly installment may in no case be less than 10 s. per week. In the event of the death of the beneficiary prior to the payment of the full compensation due, the balance outstanding is paid to his dependents.

Compensation is payable on the above scale to workers who retain their jobs but who have suffered a reduction in wages due to an amalgamation. Thus a worker 55 years of age with a continuous service record of 30 years, whose wages were reduced from, say, 70 s. to 50 s. per week (a loss of £1 per week), would receive the sum of £60 as compensation.

*X Company, Ltd., London*<sup>16</sup>

This company went through a reorganization process during 1930-1931, in consequence of which the firm found it necessary to reduce its staff, and a considerable number of employees whose services could no longer be retained was dismissed permanently. Instead of giving these excess employees just the week's or month's notice of dismissal required by the commercial practice in the country, the company granted various lump sums of money as a leaving gratuity based on the number of years of service with the enterprise. The dismissal allowances were computed on the following scale:

Employees of only 1 year's service and under were paid normal wages when laid

off, e.g., wages for the notice period required by commercial practice and by law; employees of over 1 year's service and up to 5 years' service were paid 1 month's additional salary; employees of 5 years' service and up to 10 years' service were paid 2 months' additional salary; and employees of over 10 years' service were paid 3 months' additional salary.

*C. P. Ltd., London*<sup>17</sup>

This company's extensive and progressive personnel program has included provisions for the payment of dismissal gratuities for more than a decade. The scheme was inaugurated in 1920 and revised in 1931 to provide for workers dismissed due to a merger. One feature of the 1920 provisions was the creation of an unemployment committee, consisting of workers and a management representative as chairman, whose function it was to review needy cases and recommend payment of allowances within established limits. Under the 1920 plan, men dismissed from service owing to trade slackness, received three-fourth's their regular time work wages for the first week of unemployment. Thereafter and for the following 6 weeks the unemployment committee could recommend the payment of not more than 40s. per week, and for the next 6 weeks a payment not exceeding 30s. per week.

In January, 1931, the company announced a formal plan for compensating workers laid off permanently as a result of rationalization. The basis of compensation in force is as follows:

(1) Workers with 10 years of service or more receive half pay for 26 weeks, plus long service grants established in 1931. Thereafter they receive half pay for a number of weeks equivalent to eight times the

<sup>16</sup> The firm prefers not to disclose its name or the nature of its business.

<sup>17</sup> The company prefers not to make its identity known.

number of years of service, e.g., 15 years' service would provide half pay for 120 weeks.

(2) Workers with 3 years' but less than 10 years' service receive half pay for 26 weeks, plus half pay for a number of weeks equivalent to four times the number of years of service, e.g., 8 years of service would provide half pay for 32 weeks.

(3) Workers with less than 3 years' service receive half pay for 9 weeks, plus half pay for a number of weeks equivalent to twice the number of years of service, e.g., 2 years' service would provide half pay for 4 weeks.

To these dismissal gratuities the firm adds the following scale of long service grants which are paid in a lump sum: 2 per cent of wages for 10 years' service, 3 per cent of wages for 15 years' service, 4 per cent of wages for 20 years' service, and 5 per cent of wages for 25 years' service.

*An electrical manufacturing company*<sup>18</sup>

During the present period of acute business depression, when it has been necessary to make extensive dismissals of employees, this large British company has paid such dismissed employees special gratuities in accordance with a more or less uniform scale as shown in Table 1.

*London, Midland & Scottish Railways*<sup>19</sup>

Over 600 workers were deprived of employment when the London, Midland & Scottish Railways closed its steel works at Crewe in September, 1932. Since the closing of the works was not a direct result of amalgamation with some other carrier, these workers were not entitled to the benefits of the Railway Act of 1921,<sup>20</sup>

which provides for the compulsory payment of compensation to workers of railway companies who lose their jobs in consequence of mergers. However, the company undertook voluntarily to make some provision for these dismissed workers. First, the company assumed the responsibility of transferring as many workers as possible to other employment within the company's system. The transfer scheme includes moving the worker and his family to the location of his new job free of charge. Second, the company provides for making purely *ex gratia* payments to those employees who cannot be absorbed in any branch of the railway system. These gratuities amount to £1 for every year of service, with a minimum of £5 in any case.

CONCLUSIONS

It cannot be denied that these experiments in relieving the hardship of discharge, with all their defects, confer real benefits upon the workers who have been affected by them. Of greatest value, probably, is the assistance given redundant workers in securing new means of earning a livelihood. This is evident in the case of older workers, and those who have been permanently displaced and have, therefore, no prospects of ever returning to their old trades. When we bear in mind the serious nature of the present depression in Great Britain and the relative difficulty British workers encounter in shifting from one occupation to another, company assistance in making a successful occupational readjustment takes on importance. Rowntree's efforts at finding new employment were more than perfunctory. In its scheme for subsidizing new jobs, the firm exhibited real interest in the future welfare of the people it laid off by stipulating that the company taking on one of its surplus workers pay a certain specified wage for a minimum period of one year and that the

<sup>18</sup> The company's name is withheld by request.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. "Compensation for the Loss of Employment," *Man and Metal*, September, 1932, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Railway Acts, 1921* (11 & 12 Geo. 5, C. 55); *International Survey of Legal Decisions on Labor Law*, 1930, pp. 31-32.



new situation hold out reasonable assurance of permanence.

Lump sum gratuities, too, are far from insignificant to discharged workers. While a sum of money is probably never adequate compensation for the loss of employment, at times such financial aid helps materially in finding other work. British gas workers are guaranteed compensation when their jobs are destroyed according to a standard scale fixed by joint agreement of

the hazards of employment uncertainty and economic insecurity, or do they benefit the firms concerned as well? While most of the resultant benefits are indirect and so not measurable, as is true of personnel activities in general, they are nonetheless real or presumably the firms would not undertake and continue such activities. The financial cost involved in operating the schemes has, it seems, been an incentive toward raising the general standards

TABLE I

	IN LIEU OF NOTICE	COMPENSATION
Monthly rated employees		
Less than 5 years' service.....	1 month's pay	
5 and up to 10 years' service.....	1 month's pay	1 month's pay
10 and up to 15 years' service.....	1 month's pay	2 months' pay
15 and up to 20 years' service.....	1 month's pay	3 months' pay and 3 months' half pay
20 years and over.....	1 month's pay	3 months' pay and 6 months' half pay
Weekly rated employees		
Less than 2½ years' service.....	1 week's pay	
2½ to 5 years' service.....	1 week's pay	1 week's pay
5 to 7½ years' service.....	1 week's pay	2 weeks' pay
7½ to 10 years' service.....	1 week's pay	3 weeks' pay
10 to 12½ years' service.....	1 week's pay	4 weeks' pay
12½ to 15 years' service.....	1 week's pay	5 weeks' pay
15 to 17½ years' service.....	1 week's pay	6 weeks' pay
17½ to 20 years' service.....	1 week's pay	7 weeks' pay
20 to 22½ years' service.....	1 week's pay	8 weeks' pay
22½ to 25 years' service.....	1 week's pay	9 weeks' pay

the workers' and employers' organizations. The flour milling and the gas industries' schemes take on added value by virtue of the fact that they extend to practically all workers in these industries. The experiments are also of interest to British workers in general, for there is evidence that similar dismissal benefits are being provided by an ever growing number of enterprises.

Are these personnel activities valuable only to British workers as protection from

of management. In labor management it has encouraged budgeting labor requirements, hiring more scientifically, improving dismissal procedure, training workers more widely to enable transfers, letting normal labor turnover deplete the working force to actual needs, introducing labor-displacing machinery more gradually and intelligently, etc. "The schemes also have the advantage that they offer some inducement to the firms as far as practicable to stabilise their employment by

reducing the amount of short time and the number of dismissals."<sup>21</sup>

Such activities cannot but have the effect of inspiring workers with confidence in the management, of promoting plant efficiency, and of reducing labor friction. Few companies probably could undertake profitably to follow Rowntree's example in establishing new factories to absorb their excess workers, and Rowntree's experiment may be valuable chiefly in serving as an example of what ingenuity and enlightenment on the part of management can accomplish along similar lines. However, in the case of Rowntree & Company the act of bringing several new factories to York appears to have been beneficial to the firm. It kept the capital invested in the new enterprises as a permanent asset of the company whereas otherwise this capital would have been paid out in subsidizing other employers or in dismissal allowances, it attracted new and growing industries to the community, and it helped to prevent York from becoming a declining industrial center. And incidentally these new factories brought Rowntree much favorable publicity and undoubtedly public good will.

The effect of these liberal personnel programs on the social and economic welfare of the country should not be overlooked. By transferring workers considerable distances, labor mobility has been facilitated and frozen pools of labor have been kept from becoming solidified. A new industry in Welwyn Garden City, near London, was greatly aided when Rowntree's subsidized workers were sent there from York. To some extent the several company schemes have helped to ease the country's unemployment problem. By providing for their superfluous workers at the expense of the individual firms concerned, instead of throwing these jobless workers on an

already surfeited labor market, these companies have lightened the public burden of making provision for people without jobs or incomes. In doing so the firms have acknowledged their social responsibility to help solve the problem of unemployment. Moreover, they have demonstrated that industry can, if it undertakes the task seriously, accomplish more to alleviate the hardships of the country's unemployed than is popularly assumed to be possible.

The schemes are perhaps of equal, if not greater, national importance in helping to bring Britain through the process of rationalization as quickly and painlessly as possible. The country admittedly finds itself in the position of being unable to compete in world markets, to a considerable extent, because of obsolete plant and inefficient production methods. According to a British estimate made in 1930, 10 per cent of the country's industrial plants were little better than "sheds" while another 70 per cent were in need of radical reconstruction, and British production costs were, consequently, something like 40 per cent above those of competing countries.<sup>22</sup> Industrial rehabilitation and economic revival, upon which depends the solution of the national unemployment problem, are thus dependent in part upon the thoroughgoing rationalization and modernization of industry. But at the outset rationalization makes worse the very condition it is designed to improve by creating what has been termed technological unemployment, planned unemployment, etc. Without labor's active cooperation this process of modernizing industry cannot be accomplished effectively and quickly. It is, therefore, of more than passing interest to read in the flour milling industry's annual reports for the three-year period from 1929 to 1932, the years during

<sup>21</sup> J. H. Richardson, *Industrial Relations in Great Britain*, p. 188.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Welfare Work*, November, 1930, p. 199.

which the industry spent nearly £20,000 in dismissal compensation to displaced workers, that "there has been no dispute involving a strike or cessation of work during the period under review" and that "one more year has passed in complete freedom from disputes." Similar testimony has come from other industries that make use of this new labor policy. The various dismissal compensation schemes have thus been a significant factor in enlisting labor's coöperation in efforts at realizing the rationalizing of British industry, and in accomplishing this result British industrial executives have shown a genuine understanding of the fundamental spirit and purpose of scientific management.

There are definite evidences that the British people look upon dismissal compensation plans as invaluable means for taking the sting out of technological unemployment. Dr. Northcott, Labor Manager of Rowntree & Company, comments in these terms on his own firm's experience: "This record of what has been done by one firm is offered as a contribution to the problem of rationalising British industry. It is only one aspect of it, the human aspect, but it is an integral part of the problem, and vital to any adequate solution."<sup>23</sup> A national organization of employers and employed gave consideration to the problem of rationalizing British industry at a session in June, 1931. Among the conclusions reached by this influential group at the meeting are these:<sup>24</sup>

(1) *That reorganization of the industry—known as Rationalisation—is inevitable.* This is the next evolutionary stage of development. The advance of science and the stimulation of invention have shown that world production can take place under conditions altogether different from what have been experienced during the past hundred years and with a minimum of

waste. Industry must be in a position to take advantage of this development.

(2) *That it has been shown that in the process of Rationalisation, costs of production are reduced and a considerable displacement of labour takes place.* With the advance of civilisation and its consequent demand for a higher standard of living, this displacement of labour cannot be treated lightly and considered as a problem which can solve itself.

(3) *That something should be done to safeguard those who are displaced through the development of industry.* That this can be done has been clearly demonstrated from the evidence submitted to the Committee. By what they have done, the firms concerned have rendered a service to the community if only by proving that what may appear to be impossible, is possible.

The same attitude has been officially expressed by the iron and steel workers of the country. In commenting on the dismissal allowance scheme announced by the London, Midland & Scottish Railways in connection with the closing of its steel works at Crewe, an editorial in the iron and steel workers' journal stated: "If more of the large industrial undertakings, who by Rationalisation schemes have displaced thousands of workers, had applied the same principle, then a great deal of the hardship would have been alleviated. The worker is seldom considered and we are glad to see that, even within the limits proposed, at least one industrial undertaking has some concern for the workers upon whom its decision on policy falls so heavily."<sup>25</sup> The iron and steel workers have been promulgating the wider use of the principle of compensation for displaced workers as a part of the program for reorganizing the country's steel industry. This principle was enunciated in a resolution adopted at a national conference held in 1931. The resolution reads:<sup>26</sup>

In the application of a scheme of national organisation and with a view to conserving the skill and experience of labour in the industry, where a works

<sup>25</sup> *Man and Metal*, September, 1932, p. 58.

<sup>26</sup> *What Is Wrong with the British Iron and Steel Industry?* p. 23 (Iron & Steel Trades Confederation, London, May, 1931).

<sup>23</sup> Northcott, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> *Rationalisation and Displaced Labour*, pp. 15-16.

is permanently closed down and where by adjustments in working hours or other suitable means employment cannot immediately be found for the work-people displaced, compensatory payment shall be made to them pending their being taken into employment.

In his analysis of the significance and consequence of rationalization to England, Professor Bowie argues the justice of paying dismissal allowances to the personnel employed in the service departments, where he believes redundancy is likely to be much greater than in operating departments. In their case, he states: "It is far better to pay a lump sum down in compensation for the loss of office than it is to give lengthy notice. To some such consideration the 'black-coated' staffs are entitled. They have no State assistance in time of enforced idleness, and usually no organization to voice their claims. My suggestion is, therefore, that full-time staff men are entitled in equity to compensation, graded according to length of service, and up to, say, a maximum of one year's salary."<sup>27</sup>

Sidney Webb asked for similar consideration in the case of the average worker as far back as 1917. In an address before a group of managers in which he discussed

the problem and function of hiring and firing he urged that "The longest possible notice ought to be given to the workmen about to be put off; attempts should be made to find them employment in other departments; and if these fail, the very least consideration to be shown is a clear week's notice (or a week's pay in lieu of notice)."<sup>28</sup>

It is evident from this survey that the British people, who have gone far in providing social insurance, look upon dismissal compensation as a valuable means for improving industrial relations. Industrial executives, professional men, and labor leaders join in urging the wider use of the dismissal wage device in promoting the economic welfare of the country. Of the several schemes that have been adopted, those cited are proof that progress in personnel relations is being made in Great Britain even during the present period of prolonged and serious industrial depression. Some features of the schemes have raised labor management to high levels never attained before and constitute new contributions to the solution of Britain's present-day labor problems.

<sup>28</sup> Sidney Webb, *The Works Manager To-day*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>27</sup> Bowie, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

#### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

"The Twelfth International Congress of Sociology will be held under the auspices of the International Institute of Sociology of Geneva in connection with the Universal Exposition at Brussels, Belgium, from August 25th to 30th. The Secretary of the Congress is Professor G. L. Duprat of the University of Geneva. Professor Charles A. Ellwood of the Department of Sociology at Duke University is the President of the International Institute for next year and will preside at the Congress."



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RUPERT B. VANCE, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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## RECENT BOOKS ON RACE AND CULTURE

GUY B. JOHNSON

*University of North Carolina*

- RACE AND CULTURE CONTACTS. Edited by E. B. Reuter. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934. 253 pp. \$3.00.
- THE TRIBES OF THE ASHANTI HINTERLAND. By Capt. R. S. Rattray. 2 Vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. 603 pp. Illustrated. \$12.00.
- PAGAN TRIBES OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN. By C. C. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1932. 565 pp. Illustrated. 42s.
- REBEL DESTINY. By Melville and Frances Herskovits. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934. 366 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.
- LIFE IN LESU. The Study of a Melanesian Society in New Ireland. By Hortense Powdermaker. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1933. 352 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.
- INDIAN PATCHWORK. By Edward and Mary Charles. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1934. 304 pp. \$2.00.
- EDUCATION OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLE. By Albert D. Herser. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1934. 316 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.
- THE AFRICAN LABOURER. By Major G. St. J. Orde Browne. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 240 pp. Maps. \$5.00.
- MODERN INDUSTRY AND THE AFRICAN. Edited by J. Merle Davis. New York: International Missionary Council, 1933. 425 pp.
- SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By Paul Radin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1932. 432 pp. \$3.50.
- OUR PRIMITIVE CONTEMPORARIES. By George Peter Murdock. New York: Macmillan Company, 1934. 614 pp. Illustrated. \$3.60.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934. 365 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.
- CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By Albert Muntch. New York: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1934. 421 pp. Illustrated. \$3.75.
- SACRAMENTS OF SIMPLE FOLK. By R. R. Marett. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. 230 pp. \$3.75.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANTHROPOLOGY: XI. THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. By Melville J. Herskovits. 1931. 283 pp. \$4.00. XII. QUILEUTE TEXTS. By Manuel J. Andrade. 1931. 211 pp. \$4.00. XIII. THE INFLUENCE OF TECHNIQUE ON THE DECORATIVE STYLE IN THE DOMESTIC POTTERY OF CULHUACAN. By Anita Brenner. 1931. 95 pp. \$2.00. XIV. OMAHA SECRET SOCIETIES. By R. R. Fortune. 1932. 193 pp. \$4.00. XVI. THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME. By Alexander Lesser. 1933. 338 pp. \$4.00. New York: Columbia University Press.
- YUMAN TRIBES OF THE GILA RIVER. By Leslie Spier. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. 433 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.
- THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CHOCTAW REPUBLIC. By Angie Debo. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934. 320 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.
- THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES. By Grant Foreman. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934. 455 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.
- EARLY DAYS AMONG THE CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHOE INDIANS. By John H. Seger, edited by Stanley Vestal. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934. 155 pp. Illustrated. \$2.00.
- NEW SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY. By Stanley Vestal. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934. 351 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.
- RACE RELATIONS. By W. D. Weatherford and Charles S. Johnson. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1934. 590 pp. \$3.20.
- NEGRO-WHITE ADJUSTMENTS. By Paul E. Baker. New York: Association Press, 1934. 272 pp. \$3.00.
- NEGRO AMERICANS, WHAT NOW? By James Weldon Johnson. New York: Viking Press, 1934. 103 pp. Cloth, \$1.25; paper, \$0.75.
- THE NEGRO PROFESSIONAL MAN AND THE COMMUNITY. By Carter Godwin Woodson. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1934. 365 pp. \$3.00.
- THE RACIAL MYTH. By Paul Radin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934. 141 pp. \$1.50.

The range of subject matter and method in the books listed above is broad, to say the least. However, the same can be said of the title chosen to head these reviews. This title was the central theme of the 1933 meeting of the American Sociological Society, and it accounts for the first book in our list. From the papers read at that

meeting, President Reuter has selected thirteen which present certain significant phases of race and culture contacts.

Reuter has contributed an introductory statement which coördinates the other essays to some extent by pointing out "the major universals in the natural history of race and culture contact." Among the contributions are: R. D. McKenzie's "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelations of People," R. E. Park's "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," Clark Wissler's "European and American Indian Cultures in Contact," J. F. Steiner's "American-Born Orientals," and Charles S. Johnson's "Negro Personality Changes in a Southern Community."

The next four books in our list are the results of studies of primitive cultures by trained observers.

Captain Rattray, of the Gold Coast Political Service, who has already given us half a dozen first-rate works on the Ashanti, now adds an excellent two-volume work. Rattray knows the native tongues thoroughly and his entrée into intimate native situations is based on long and friendly contact with these people. Volume I opens with four chapters on linguistic relations of the Gold Coast tribes. Then follow chapters on such subjects as birth, courtship, marriage, divorce, education of girls, hunting customs, and funeral customs of the Nankanse people. These chapters are excellent source material on primitive life, for Rattray lets a native, Victor Aboya, give the descriptions in his own words. Aboya had some education, and he wrote his accounts in Nankane "without any attempt to impress us by airing or dragging in his later acquired European knowledge." Rattray translated his account, adding only the necessary explanatory notes. Rattray concludes Volume I and opens Volume II with further chapters on the Nankanse. The remainder of Vol-

ume II presents the salient features of social organization in a dozen other tribes, including Talense, Namnam, Kusase, Dagaba, Lober, and Isala.

It is impossible in a brief review to indicate the merits of this work, but it can certainly be said that no student of West African peoples can afford to ignore *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*. The 158 photographs and drawings in these two volumes are unusually good and are themselves worth a large portion of the price of the books.

Professor and Mrs. Seligman's *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* is another distinguished contribution to the ethnology of Africa. The chief peoples treated in this work are the Shilluk, the Dinka, the Nuer, the Bari, the Lotuks, the Nuba, and the Azande. For each group, the authors present data on the regulation of public life, kinship and family life, and religion. The book is profusely illustrated, has a good index. Like Rattray's work, it is not only of scientific value, but should have practical value to the British administrators and to missionaries in the Sudan.

*Rebel Destiny* is the outgrowth of Mr. and Mrs. Herskovits' field work among the bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. These Negroes, whose ancestors escaped from slavery more than 150 years ago and established themselves in the jungles along the Saramacca River, have preserved their African heritage better than any other known Negroes in the New World. The Herskovitses have deemed it "more important to stress the Bush Negro's attitudes toward his own civilization, and his logic in explaining his customs, than to give a more conventional description of an integrated village or the tribal life of a primitive people." Hence the book centers around personalities and incidents to a large degree and is aimed at the general reader. Typical chapters are: "Death at

Gankwe," "Kunu," "The Shrine to the River Gods," "The Artist of Ma'lobbi," "Bayo, the Playboy." Further writings of a more technical nature are promised, but the present work is sufficient to introduce the reader to the essentials of Bush Negro culture. The book has a glossary and is illustrated.

Dr. Powdermaker spent nearly a year in the village of Lesu on the east coast of New Ireland, a location which she says had never before been visited by an anthropologist. As a lone white woman she was quite a curiosity to the natives, a fact which probably helped in spreading her popularity around the native villages. At any rate, she succeeded quite well in establishing friendly relations with the natives. She was even invited to some of the men-only occasions, so one may wonder whether a woman may not have a distinct psychological advantage over the male investigator after all. No matter how competently a man studies a primitive group, his work is still a man's work. It is all right as far as it goes, but there are limits to the man's access to the intimate attitudes and behavior of the women folk. Of course, the limitations apply to women who study the men folk, but more women anthropologists in the field will help to balance the picture of primitive life.

*Life in Lesu* gives little attention to linguistics and material culture. The topics covered are: Social Organization; Infancy; Childhood; Initiation Rites; Marriage; Work; Sexual Life; Knowledge, Magic, and Religion; and The Individual and Society. Appendices give additional data on magic and inter-class marriages. The emphasis throughout is decidedly functional. There are excellent descriptions of ceremonies, dances, magic practices, sexual customs and attitudes with emphasis on the natives' own interpretations and attitudes. The life-history technique is used

to advantage, particularly in the chapter on Sexual Life, and occasional folk tales are introduced.

*Life in Lesu* lacks the philosophical depth and comparative viewpoint which characterize Margaret Mead's works, but in straightforward description it is equal, if not superior, to Mead's work. The book is well illustrated.

The next two books stand in striking contrast to each other, although they both grew out of experiences in the education of non-western peoples. Edward and Mary Charles kept rather detailed personal diaries during their sojourn in Central India where Mr. Charles was for a short time principal of a large college. In *Indian Patchwork* they have presented some intensely interesting pages from these diaries. The book opens with Mr. Charles' account of his finding a large cobra in his private commode at the college—"a dagger in the back is foul, but poison in the buttocks is a purely Indian trick." It reaches a climax in the student strike which follows Charles' improvements in the students' drinking facilities. He wins the strike after a fashion, but he has had enough. The closing pages find the Charleses bound for England, glad to be away from "that grim, tragic, tawdry and pathetic country, India." They could not understand India, they could not adjust to the stupidities of the caste system, to the filth, and all the other things that make Mother India what she is. Cynical, at times even morbid, these documents are not only a picture of the growing ferment in India but they are a record of the mental torment of two personalities living in an alien culture.

Helser's *Education of Primitive People* is the product of a somewhat happier experience in the work of transmitting western values to a primitive group. From ten years of mission-school work among the



Bura of Nigeria, Helser has evolved a technique of education which is based on the appreciation of the culture of the primitive group. Using the rich folk-lore of the Bura people as the foundation, he devised a series of projects which are related to the incidents and accidents of everyday living: (1) home and social life, (2) health, (3) agriculture and livestock, (4) crafts. Battling filth, fear, and fate in a group of this sort is no easy task, but science stands a good chance in the long run because its "magic" will prove superior to that of the medicine man. Helser relates, for example, that after the saving of a boy from drowning, "the biggest discussion came from the parents about touching a person who was dead or who was not breathing because his lungs were full of water. Some insisted that only certain people dare touch a dead body. The group did not take the discussion so seriously, because they had seen Musa saved by manipulating a body that was supposed to be dead." Helser's book should be stimulating to all those who are trying to revitalize the curriculum of our own schools.

The problem of native labor in Africa accounts for the next two titles. Says Major Browne in his introduction to *The African Labourer*, "The upheavals and readjustments consequent upon the Great War are far from finished, and Africa has been as profoundly affected as the rest of the world; instead of regular and progressive development of untapped resources, existing enterprises have been rudely shaken by the factors which have threatened the whole fabric of the capitalist system. . . . There would appear to be genuine danger that industrial progress may outstrip administrative measures, with possibly disastrous consequences."

The author presents a broad survey of the African labor problem. Opening with a few short chapters on historical factors,

he proceeds to discuss pointedly such matters as the incentive to wage-earning, forced labour, methods of recruiting, labor contacts, living conditions, women and child workers, and labor legislation.

The other book, *Modern Industry and the African*, is a more intensive study of a particular area and industry, namely, the copper mines of central Africa. It represents a survey made under the auspices of the International Missionary Council. "The enquiry envisages the impact of European civilisation upon the African Native as a whole and undertakes to analyse the position of Christian missions in this impact in all its relationships." The report is written in four sections: "The Sociological Problem," "The Economic Problem," "The Problem of Government," and "The Problem for Missions." These are contributed by Charles W. Coulter, E. A. G. Robinson, Leo Marquard, and J. Merle Davis, respectively.

The works by Radin, Murdock, Lowie, and Muntz are general works of a text or reference nature. In his *Social Anthropology* Radin had in mind a "general textbook that will present the data on social anthropology so that they are intelligible to a non-professional anthropologist." He has "rigorously excluded all considerations of physical anthropology, archaeology and linguistics," and has "avoided all general theoretical discussion except in the introductory chapter on the History of Ethnological Theories."

This volume is really a sort of case book. For example, in Part I, The Organization of The State, seven forms of government are illustrated. Typical titles are: "Simple Democratic Community: The Arunta," "Monarchical Community: The Baganda." In Part III, Economic and Industrial Life, eight types of food-getting are illustrated—for example, "Food Gatherers: The Pomo," "Terraced Agriculture:

The Bontoc Igorot." In other words, each form, method, etc. is illustrated by the culture of a particular tribe. This method has its good points. It gives the student concrete data and acquaints him with a large number of sources. But, as the author himself says, "a certain amount of distortion has been introduced into the picture of each culture." The reviewer feels that the book will win a well deserved popularity as a reference or source book and to some extent as a textbook.

Murdock's *Our Primitive Contemporaries* is also aimed at the general reader. It, too, avoids theory. The author has tried to bring together "brief descriptions of eighteen different primitive peoples representative of all the great regions and races of the world and of all the major types and levels of culture." His selections include the Tasmanians, the Aranda, the Kazaks, the Polar Eskimos, the Hopi, the Incas, the Dahomeans, and others. He has summarized very skillfully the essential facts about each group. The reviewer would rate this book very high as a handy authoritative source of information on primitive groups. Supplemented by lectures or a book on theory, it would be very useful to students in introductory courses in anthropology. The 117 illustrations which it contains add much to its interest for general readers.

Lowie's *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* will be welcomed by those who want a simple, well written, and authoritative text in this field. The arrangement is topical, the emphasis is on factual data, the illustrative materials are drawn from the less hackneyed tribes. Like Radin and Murdock, Lowie has avoided theoretical discussion. The reviewer feels that at least one little chapter on theoretical problems might have been slipped in somewhere without doing any harm. However, even in spite of this deficiency—if

indeed it be deficiency—Lowie's text is likely to gain favor over some of the others now in the field.

Muntsch's *Cultural Anthropology* does not avoid theory. In fact, it is probably a little heavy for beginning students, although the topical arrangement and numerous sub-heads offset this somewhat. Father Muntsch's approach to certain questions of origin, evolution, ethics, etc., is naturally influenced by theological considerations, but his book represents a vast amount of labor, shows a wide acquaintance with the literature of anthropology, and should be useful to teachers in both Catholic and non-Catholic schools.

Marett's *Sacraments of Simple Folk*, containing the Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews for 1932-1933, is written with that same keen insight and vivid, witty style which have endeared Professor Marett to his readers both within and without the ranks of the anthropologists. Defining a sacrament as "any rite which by way of sanction or positive blessing invests a natural function with a supernatural authority of its own," the author devotes his opening chapter to "Natural Functions and their Consecration." Then follow chapters on eating, fighting, mating, educating, ruling, judging, covenanting, healing, and dying. This work, together with its predecessor, *Faith, Hope, and Charity in Primitive Religion*, may well become a classic as a philosophy of primitive life.

The Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology are grouped together for convenience. With the exception of the monograph by Herskovits, all of these deal with American Indian culture. In *The Anthropometry of the American Negro*, Herskovits presents in detail the data on which his more popular little volume, *The American Negro*, was based. The author has set a high standard of excellence in the field of Negro anthropometry. The only seri-

ous weakness in his methodology is his failure to secure groups which constitute a true sample of the Negro population. The extent of Negro-white mixture is considerably overestimated, in the reviewer's opinion. While this would not invalidate Herskovits' conclusions, it would place them in need of some revision.

*Quileute Texts*, by Andrade, is of interest primarily to students of linguistics and folklore. Seventy Quileute folk tales with English translations constitute the volume.

Anita Brenner's work on Culhuacan pottery is "an attempt to discover the nature of some processes which, presumably, may occur in the development of any artistic style, and further to detail . . . the ways in which these factors may affect decoration, . . ." The text is well illustrated with pottery designs.

Fortune's monograph represents a painstaking study of the secret societies of the Omaha. In the author's words, "From the results of this study it is now possible to see Omaha society as an elaboration of the one ground plan, firm based throughout on class distinction and the hereditary transmission of privilege. The culture now appears well integrated, tight formed, not amorphous in the slightest."

Lesser's *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* is "the story of the development among the Pawnee of an institution which in part filled their intellectual and social needs in the midst of cultural barrenness—a cultural barrenness produced by uncontrolled assimilation." The significance of the study would seem to lie in its methodological contributions. Lesser says, "The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change, and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a metaphysics of history."

Spier's *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* is a

competent study of the little-known Yuma-speaking tribes of Southern Arizona, and especially of the Maricopa people. It includes the topics usual to field studies of this sort, it is well illustrated, and it contains typical songs and folk tales.

The University of Oklahoma Press has lately come to the fore as a publisher of materials on the Indians of the Southwest. Four of our books belong to its *Civilization of the American Indian Series*. Oklahoma was the scene of some interesting experiments in Indian self-government and of conflict between the Indians and the advancing white civilization. Miss Debo's *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* is a scholarly history of the Choctaw people since the Civil War. After sketching briefly the culture of the primitive Choctaws, the coming of the white man, and the removal to the west, Miss Debo describes the course of economic, political, and social life in the Choctaw Nation up to the surrender to the United States and the final dissolution of tribal rights.

In *The Five Civilized Tribes*, Foreman has attacked somewhat the same problem. However, he has added to the Choctaw the Chickasaw, the Creek, the Seminole, and the Cherokee. Furthermore, he has concentrated on the period from the removal to the Civil War. With keen insight and sympathy he has depicted the struggles of these tribes in their efforts to adjust to the new land to which they had been forced to migrate.

Seger's memoirs, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians*, were first published in 1923 and are no doubt familiar to most students of Indian history. They have now been republished, with the addition of a short appendix entitled "Tradition of the Cheyenne Indians," as a part of the *Civilization of the American Indian Series*.

Vestal's *New Sources of Indian History*,

1850-1891, is a collection of documents and other materials relating to the Prairie Sioux. The documents are grouped around the ghost dance and the death of Sitting Bull. Some additional information on Indian warfare, problems of peace, and characterizations of individual Indians is presented in the author's own words. The documentary material is at times uneven and there is no central thread running through the book to give it unity; nevertheless it is interesting, at times fascinating.

Another group of books in our list has to do with Negro-white relations. *Race Relations*, by Weatherford and Johnson is interesting for several reasons. It is the best text now available for courses on Negro-white relations. It represents the joint efforts of a white and a Negro scholar, and, incidentally, the Negro scholar displays decidedly more calmness and objectivity about the whole matter than the white. Four chapters are devoted to "The Philosophy of Race Relations," eleven to "American Negro Slavery," and fourteen to "The Present Status of the Negro and Race Relations." Each chapter is concluded with problems for study and a short bibliography. This book should fill a distinct need in many colleges, particularly in the South.

The subtitle of Baker's *Negro-White Adjustments* indicates the content: "An Investigation and Analysis of Methods in the Interracial Movement in the United States." The author first presents brief surveys of the history, philosophy, and program of ten interracial agencies. He then devotes the main portion (184 pages) of the book to "a discovery of methods through a study of the activity of interracial agencies in typical situations." The situations are grouped under such headings as "Attempts to eliminate lynching and secure legal justice for the Negro,"

"Direct action as a method of securing rights," "Conflicts around the social mingling of the races," etc. The chief value of the book is its bringing together of forty or more actual situations, including lynchings, riots, murders, segregation conflicts, the Scottsboro case, the Juliette Derricotte hospital case, etc. This section will be extremely valuable as a ready-reference source for concrete data on recent interracial relations.

The discussion of methods, however, seems to be lacking in depth and finesse. In the final summing up of methods there is some confusion between social processes and conscious methods or techniques. The book is copiously footnoted, in fact almost to the point of triviality. There is a brief bibliography in which, one may note, Work's *Bibliography of the Negro* is not mentioned as a research aid, although a little New York Public Library bulletin is referred to as "a complete bibliography on the interracial situation." However, these minor criticisms should not be allowed to overshadow the fact that this book is of great value to teachers, students, and others who are interested in race relations.

Negro thought has lately been thrown into a state of turmoil by W. E. B. DuBois' pronouncements on the subject of segregation. The argument started about a year ago when DuBois stated that if the Negroes wanted to get any of the benefits of the government's subsistence homestead plans they should work toward separate homestead projects for themselves since they could not expect anything except the old Jim-Crowism if they became a part of the white projects. Protests sprang up. DuBois defended and elaborated his position in *The Crisis*, and, while most of what he said was ordinary realism and common-sense, it constituted a sort of *faux pas*. He had "compromised with segregation," he



had made an "about face," he had gone over to Booker Washingtonism. The affair created controversy out of all proportion to its real significance.

James Weldon Johnson's little book, *Negro Americans, What Now?*, tries to bring some order into this chaos. In a simple and forceful style he outlines the choices which lie before his people—exodus, physical force, isolation, integration—and makes a plea for integration as the end and goal toward which Negro Americans should strive. "Clear thinking," says Johnson, "reveals that the outcome of voluntary isolation would be a permanent secondary status, so acknowledged by the race. Such a status would, it is true, . . . smooth away a good part of the friction and bring about a certain protection and security. . . . But I do not believe we shall ever be willing to pay such a price for security and peace."

While Negroes have made remarkable progress in professional lines since 1865, their professions, with the exception of the ministry, are still much understaffed in comparison with the numbers of white people engaged in professions. This problem is, of course, tied up with the occupational history of the Negro, with his relatively low economic position, his educational opportunities, and all the customs and mores of interracial life in the United

States. In *The Negro Professional Man and the Community*, Carter Woodson has assembled from published sources and from a questionnaire study of his own some very significant data on the history, the training, the earnings, the everyday problems of Negro professionals. His work is a real contribution to the socio-economic study of the Negro and race relations.

Radin's *The Racial Myth* ends our list. One might wish that it also ended the myth of race. But after all the truly outstanding fact about the myth of race is its persistence, its refusal to vanish like the Cheshire Cat into thin air. However, the race myth remains an intriguing academic question, and Radin has succeeded in giving it another one of those knock-out blows which have been the fashion of late. He demonstrates "how it has come about that race and nationality lend themselves so easily to misinterpretation and abuse," and shows "that all specific racial pretensions to superiority are both illusory and unjustified." Radin traces the myth of superiority through the ages, but gives particular attention to the Nordic myth and to recent nationalistic developments in Europe. He closes with the hope that we are progressing toward a "confederation of the world" wherein racial and nationalistic illusions shall be no more.

## ROMANCE AND REALITY IN LATIN AMERICA

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF HISPANIC AMERICA. By J. Fred Rippy. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1932. xvii + 580 pp. \$5.00.

A HISTORY OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. By F. A. Kirkpatrick. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931. xxvii + 255 pp. \$5.00.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AMERICA. By J. F. Normano. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, 294 pp. \$4.00.

THE CAPITALISTS AND COLOMBIA. By J. Fred Rippy. New York: Vanguard Press, 1931. xxxii + 256 pp. \$2.00.

PORTO RICO: A BROKEN PLEDGE. By Bailey W. and Justine White Diffie. New York: Vanguard Press, 1931. xxxv + 252 pp. \$2.00.

WHITHER LATIN AMERICA? By Frank Tannenbaum. New York: T. Y. Crowell Co., 1934. xxi + 185 pp. \$2.00.

Professor Rippy has tried the experiment of treating Latin American history as a unit, dividing it into three main topical divisions: colonial, national, and international relations. While he handles the literary, intellectual, and artistic movements relatively lightly, he devotes considerable attention to social and economic as well as to political movements. In keeping with modern trends in history writing, he provides geographic, ethnographic, and European backgrounds. The age of exploration and conquest is treated vividly. In the national period attention is concentrated on the struggle for independence and readjustment, the dictatorships, the age of advance and reform (1913-1929), and the reversion to disorder. The international aspect emphasizes both relations to European and North American powers and interrelations of the Latin American states and their attempt at union and cooperation. There are good maps and a well chosen bibliography. Although the political emphasis is strong, this is an excellent survey.

Kirkpatrick's history of Argentina is a different sort of book—in two ways. It is an outgrowth of the effort of the British to make closer cultural, economic, and political contacts with a country in which they have some \$2,500,000,000 invested; and it places more emphasis upon the literature and life of the people. The book is intended to be read both by the English and the Argentines and to make a favorable impression upon both, and it seems likely to achieve both ends. It is a mere outline of the history of Argentina, such as a businessman or government official might wish to read, but it manages to bring out events and facts of interest to such an Englishman. It also brings together those things in Argentine history most flattering to the Argentines, skillfully interweaving accounts of British con-

tacts and "relations" with that country in an ingratiating manner.

The preceding paragraph suggests that there may have been something of a "peaceful offensive" directed toward Argentina—yes, and toward all South America—by European peoples. This is the theme of Normano's volume. When South America became independent slightly over 100 years ago, the new republics set up enlightened paper constitutions and proceeded to govern according to frontier guerilla methods. European countries, for a consideration, secured most of the economic privileges, and sometimes dominated politics to their advantages. Civilization advanced slowly, and the World War in a measure threw South America on her own. Some of her leaders, encouraged by this venture, new United States loans, and the struggle of an impoverished world for trade privileges, prophesied that South America would be the center of world civilization in the twentieth century (the United States supposedly being too materialistic to take the lead from morally bankrupt Europe). Whatever her cultural dreams, South America is developing more economic independence, and it is the story of this growth that Normano gives us here.

The more seamy side of the struggle to dominate Latin America economically and politically, so far as the United States is concerned, is brought out by two studies on American Imperialism on the Harmon Foundation, and edited by Harry Elmer Barnes. Rippy's volume on Colombia lays bare our various political adventures in "protecting" American citizens and capital, our "taking of Panama," and our exploitation of oil in particular. The *Diffies' Porto Rico* shows another sort of exploitation, the kind used in dealing with a colony as distinguished from an "inde-

pendent sister republic." Here the influence of tariff legislation upon native products and prosperity, the results of overpopulation, and the conditions of labor, as well as the struggle for independence, are emphasized. Some of the brighter aspects of our rule, especially in educational and health work, are also mentioned.

Tannenbaum's volume may be taken as the "summary and conclusion" to the other five. It is a brief compilation—not original, but useful—of the leading facts regarding population, industrial development, finance, trade, transportation, edu-

cation, labor, and agriculture in Latin America. It is just such a collection of facts as a "tired" business man or a ladies' club speaker might wish to master in an evening's pleasant reading. There is also a final chapter, or appendix, on problems of research in Latin American affairs which may be of value to some college students, although this is covered elsewhere in the encyclopaedias.

Altogether, these six volumes here passed so rapidly in review, are capable of giving the discerning reader considerable insight into what is going on today in the advancing civilizations to the south of us.

### LIVERPOOL DEPRESSIONWISE

LEE M. BROOKS

*University of North Carolina*

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF MERSEYSIDE. Edited by D. Caradog Jones. London: University Press of Liverpool, Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1934. Three volumes. 1356 pp. £2/5/0.

The research for this comprehensive survey of the Liverpool area with its 1,271,155 people was accomplished between the depression years of 1929 and 1932 by the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation and local university funds and facilities. This urban region includes six inner congested districts and five outer districts, ranging respectively as to density from 25,216 to 11,840 people per square mile. The survey itself involved various samplings of 6,906 families and 28,845 persons. Of these families, some 4,800 live in corporate Liverpool. It would seem that every conceivable angle of life had been studied and then presented with a fine sense of proportion and balance. All three volumes hold the reader's interest near the main trunk of research fact; he is not led off into the fruitless foliage and twigs of this and that individual's opinion.

With the eleven districts constantly in

mind as a socio-economic whole, the authors in the first volume present certain historic, ethnic, and familial aspects followed by an analysis of such problems as overcrowding, poverty, housing, and working class expenditures. Also in this volume they pray for a concerted and sustained program of regional planning to block any ugly flow of urbanization and to preserve the outlying rural advantages. In the second volume economic and industrial factors are examined along with special studies of workers in the area. Volume III, the largest and perhaps the most interesting, studies mainly the defective aspects and closes with a vital presentation of the problem of differential class fertility.

The scientific care with which the survey was handled is as impressive as the results themselves. Repeatedly the authors point in a truly Darwinian spirit of self-criticism to the weak places in a specific sampling; they indicate the dangers of bias in certain types of inquiry; they frequently offer questions rather than answers; and they refuse to express them-

selves strongly on remedial programs. Theirs is to describe, not to prescribe. Probably, however, some eugenists will be unhappy over the surveyors' moderateness when the data seem so overwhelmingly in favor of drastic corrective efforts.

Frequent comparison is made with the eight volume *New Survey of London Life and Labour*, the modern follow-up of the great work of Charles Booth. The comparative technique is also used constantly between years and districts within the Merseyside conurbation itself. Due care is observed with regard to bases of comparison. In some cases a century of change is involved; in others, only a decade or less. The findings are presented with unusual clarity. Tabular results are arranged so that they may be easily understood. Rather than to trust to raw averages or to indulge in needless statistical refinements, percentiles and quartiles are largely employed. What would otherwise be monotonous statistical tabulation and discussion is relieved by descriptive notes and comments.

A large part of the first volume is devoted to the problem of overcrowding and housing. Strange as it may seem, overcrowding is not always and necessarily associated with poverty, for it was discovered that from one-half to two-thirds of over-crowded families could probably afford to spend more on rent than they actually were spending. "If they stand any chance of getting a Corporation house [of which over 20,000 have been built since the War] consciously or subconsciously they are apt to balance the amenities they will enjoy there against the three or four shillings extra weekly rent, the extra cost of travel to and from work, and the lack of cheap shops, in addition to the strangeness of their new surroundings." Not only in the Liverpool area but also in other cities such as Dublin and Birmingham, in the summer of 1934, the reviewer found the town planners and housing experts wor-

ried over such problems as expressed above, problems involving transportation, problems of locating industries and housing estates advantageously, the problem of education for better living in better houses, and the problem of social solidarity which housing estates have not yet achieved. Housing the people calls for more than economics, architecture, and transportation. Only the people themselves can make a community out of an aggregation of houses and families.

Who occupy corporation houses and how long is the tenancy? Ninety per cent are of the working class, and while 22 per cent were living previously in overcrowded conditions, only 3 per cent or 4 per cent come from extremely low grade slums. One-third of the tenants work in the centre of the city, some 3 to 5 miles from the estates. Young people and a high proportion of children four years and younger live in corporation houses. Of 351 families sampled who had become tenants between 1927-1930, 83 had since left, largely because they preferred the intimate life of the slums. This reminds the reviewer of the remark of the Dublin housing inspector: "You've got to do more than build new houses for ignorant people with old ideas." Yet the English, Irish, and Scottish social workers and executives believe firmly and perhaps rightly that today's children better housed will definitely raise the level of tomorrow's home and community life.

We in America, now in the midst of housing enthusiasm, are sure to be faced with similar difficulties and some of us wonder whether our old social, religious, and civic attitudes and institutions can bend to meet the non-material needs of the people.

Space forbids more than passing reference to the interesting treatment in the second volume of earnings, occupational mobility, and employment. "Most big



firms are already accustomed to collective bargaining in dealing with their manual workers" (II, 332). Late in this volume, after thorough treatment of the research findings in earlier chapters, unemployment is indicted as the major social problem of to-day awaiting international adjustment through adequate statesmanship. The lesser part of this problem is due chiefly to personal shortcomings to be explained in terms of heredity and environment.

Even though Liverpool is still an important marketing centre for grain, fruit, lumber, and other products, it is plain that the port prospects are causing concern.

The third volume covers government, health, education, infant welfare, adolescent workers, broken families, pensioners, leisure, religion, the deaf, the blind, the subnormal and abnormal mental types, the co-existence and localisation of defects, the social services, differential fertility, and population trends. Citizens are apathetic, do not turn out as they should for local elections; committees are appointed to control committees; a dozen separate authorities get in each other's way in urban Merseyside where the common interests of the people constitute a sharply defined unit but where the more fortunate local authorities oppose plans for joint administration when it means a joint sharing of cost,—such are some of the views on government. The chapters on education are among the most interesting and informative. Except for the greater complications connected with parochial schools, their problems are akin to ours in America. As for infant welfare a dozen tabular studies give the usual dismal picture of large families amid poverty and overcrowding. The chapters on adolescents and pensioners are filled with valuable data.

The long discussion of leisure is most worthwhile, seeming as it does to touch

upon all sides of the subject. (Even those trashy "Yank" magazines which some of us meet for the first time when we go abroad, are mentioned.) Also we Americans are to blame for 80 per cent of their cinema films which are not looked upon as very harmful, but rather as possessing some value. The social sciences are the most favored study engaged in by workers as they seek to continue their education. The method of sampling of church attendance is a story in itself with results showing only 15 per cent to 20 per cent of the population going to church at all, a great decrease over earlier years. The chapters on defectives are especially useful. Much emphasis is given to problems of inherited defects; to marriage ability and employability of such as the deaf and blind; to the question of special education of mental defectives, of whom only a ratio of two out of five had seemed to justify the expensive training provided for them by Liverpool. The findings lead again and again to the province of sterilization and birth control about which the authors will seem to some rather restrained. The fertility of public assistance families is proportionately greater than families in general,—exactly as has been shown by the Milbank and other studies here in America. As for localisation of defect the whole list of social ills appears to be especially conspicuous in just those districts where the birth-rate is high. Why, the authors ask, amid so much interest in a falling birth-rate is so little said about its qualitative aspect?

For those who have only a hazy idea of life in the urban districts of the British Isles this survey will be a revelation. Attractive in format, with every evidence of careful editing, it takes its place among the best of its kind. The reviewer's enthusiasm over these volumes when he first glanced at them in Liverpool has been reinforced as he has combed their pages.

## GEORGIA IN HISTORY

FLETCHER M. GREEN

*Emory University*

ALL ABOUT GEORGIA: TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF ROMANCE AND REALITY. By LAWTON B. EVANS. New York: American Book Company, 1933. viii + 99 pp. \$0.40.

PLANTATION SLAVERY IN GEORGIA. By Ralph Betts Flanders. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. x + 326 pp. \$3.50.

A SHORT HISTORY OF GEORGIA. By E. Merton Coulter. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933. xiii + 457 pp. \$3.50.

Georgia celebrated her bicentennial in 1933, and as a part of the celebration a large number of books about the state were published. Among such works are the three listed above. The first, *All About Georgia*, may be dismissed with scant notice. The title is misleading, and disappointed indeed will be the person who reads it with the expectation of learning all about Georgia. The book is made up of poems selected from such authors as Lanier, Chivers, Stanton, Jackson, Loveman, and others, and of short historical essays. Since the poems are easily accessible, republication in a volume of such pretentious title is not merited. The essays are of little or no value since they recount elementary facts and even these are not always accurate. For instance the author says (p. 73) that the original boundary of Georgia extended to the Pacific Ocean and then, in the next paragraph, says that the territory was extended in 1763 to the Mississippi River.

*Plantation Slavery in Georgia* is a distinct contribution to the factual knowledge of slavery within the state. The author believes that the definitive general work on slavery cannot be written until special studies of slavery in the several states have been made. The publication of a parallel work on Mississippi, in the past year, indicates that other scholars are of the same opinion.

The book may be divided into three sections: (1) The first four chapters describe the foundation of Georgia, the introduction of slavery therein, and the expansion of slavery in the state; (2) the next seven chapters deal with the operation of the slavery plantation régime down to the Civil War; (3) and the last chapter treats of the defense of slavery by the planters of the state. The most important part of the work is that of the second division where types of plantations, economic and social aspects of slavery, the acquisition and hire of slaves, and crime and punishment are treated with a wealth of detailed knowledge never before brought out. The vast amount of information presented changes very little the general views of the slavery régime, however.

Some few errors have found their way into the book. The Mississippi River was not the western boundary of Georgia under the charter (p. 6). To group Hinton Rowan Helper with Dew, Harper, and Ruffin (p. 227) is misleading, to say the least. DeBow's initials are given incorrectly (p. 89); the Methodist Bishop's name was Andrew not Andrews (p. 177); Holwyl is given for Hofwyl (p. 107); and Kitchel (p. 275) is written Kitchell (p. 286). In spite of such minor errors the work stands out as exceptionally well done, and Professor Flanders is to be complimented upon his research and contribution to Georgiana.

Professor Coulter is no newcomer to the writers on Georgia, for he has written several articles and books on his adopted state. Students of Georgia will welcome his latest contribution for, while there are many monographs and fragmentary works, this is the first general, compre-

hensive, and scholarly history of Georgia covering the time from its first exploration to the present. The book happily combines scholarship and pleasing, interesting style. The task of the author was prodigious for, with the exception of three or four works only, he was pioneering where no other had trod in his account of the state since 1880.

In one point particularly the reviewer feels that Professor Coulter might have enhanced the value of his book: namely, in regard to the treatment since the restoration of home rule in 1872. The sixty years since that date are covered in some fifty-five pages out of a total of 457. On the other hand, the twelve years from 1860 to 1872 are given some sixty-five pages. Again Georgia in the Civil War gets two entire chapters, while two short paragraphs suffice for the World War. I realize of course that the World War is so recent that it is hard to get either the materials for its treatment or a proper perspective of it, yet proportion in the treatment of the two conflicts does not seem well balanced. On the other hand the author has given excellent proportion to political, economic, and social factors.

The best portion of the book is that which deals with Georgia in the Union from 1776 to 1860. In the twelve chapters devoted to this period is found a most excellent treatment of politics and government, growth and expansion, Indian affairs, social, cultural and religious life, communication and transportation, and the sectional controversy. Not only is the picture interesting and clear-cut, but the interpretations also are most convincing. While the colonial and recent periods are not so well done as the middle period, the work is without doubt the best single account of the state yet written. A workable index and a selected bibliography add further to the usefulness of the book.

THE NEW BRITISH EMPIRE. By W. Y. Elliott. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932. xv + 519 pp. \$5.00.

Professor Elliott's study, based upon a series of Lowell Lectures, illustrates the wide net which must be cast by one who expects to think constructively about political forms. Even before the Imperial Conference of 1926, the structure of the British Empire was beginning to mystify thinkers of the Austinian and idealistic schools of jurisprudence. The Balfour resolutions have left a juridical puzzle, which reminds Professor Elliott of the chimerical Unicorn of the royal coat-of-arms. Between the Crown Subordinate, the Crown Confederate, and the Crown Coördinate, the political unity and cohesion of the empire is made to appear pretty much of a theological mystery. Professor Elliott's account adds chiefly a crotchety humor to the interpretation of this sacred subject.

But he has not remained content with juridical theory. Unity and cohesion, he perceives, are more than legal categories. Accordingly six of the eight chapters of this book are devoted to a quest for more concrete manifestations of imperial integration. There is a tremendous marshalling of facts, economic and social, constitutional and religious, physical and metaphysical. The point of the inquiry, Professor Elliott candidly confesses, is to determine whether the British Empire may endure and upon what conditions. Challenge has come to capitalistic imperialism, of which the British Empire has been the outstanding exemplar. And the reconstruction that has been going on of the relations of the British Isles to the Dominions, as well as the attempts at reorganization in India, are to be regarded as a capitalistic Counter-Reformation. They are designed to bolster up a shaken institution.

The success of these efforts, Professor Elliott concludes, will depend so far as the Dominions are concerned upon three conditions: (1) a world neither too peaceful nor too torn by war, in which a British league is a necessary supplement to the League of Nations; (2) an England which as dominant partner in the British league is not too absorbed or exhausted by her own difficulties at home; and (3) the acceptance of joint action and its consequent responsibilities by the other partners. There are potential dangers to the survival of the reformed empire. These include a possible United States of Europe, the resurgence of violent economic nationalism, a triumph of communism in Europe, the flight of capital from London and its downfall as a financial center, the continued march of nationalism in the Dominions and elsewhere. On the other hand, success for this capitalistic Counter-Reformation will be furthered by policies of economic internationalism, by all steps in the direction of integration of world markets, control of raw material supplies and price stabilization throughout the industrial world. "Everything which she (Great Britain) can do to integrate a world economy in which capital and development are freed to function to their maximum efficiency will strengthen her empire and her chances of survival" (p. 254). "British democracy is pioneering in the effort to reconcile social control and rational planning with the flexible play of economic forces and the retention of individual initiative" (p. 297).

*The New British Empire* was published before the Ottawa conference of 1932. It is clear, however, that the author does not anticipate much from the trade devices there elaborated. They do not differ in kind from the economic links of Great Britain with many areas outside the empire. Professor Elliott deems cultural and historical links more potent. But in the

last analysis he would insist that the common interests necessary to support a British Commonwealth must arise from the world economic and political situation.

LELAND H. JENKS.

*Wellesley College.*

IN QUEST OF A LAW OF RECOGNITION. By Malbone W. Graham. Faculty Research Lecture at the University of California at Los Angeles, May 15, 1933. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1933.

There was practically no fixed principle of recognition in the law of nations before the World War. Even if there had been one it would not have applied to many of the unprecedented post-war events. If all the eighty-six old and new states had interchanged recognition, there would have been some 3268 acts of recognition, most of them without precedent and ungoverned by any principle.

To arrive at such a principle demands an *inductive* study of the post-war practice of nations regarding the recognition of new states. The intricacies of such an approach have not daunted Professor Graham, who, though he has not completed his survey, has procured enough complete data to permit an interpretation of how certain communities have been admitted into the family of states, and hence to permit making clear the trend of the recognition process.

The phases of the process are four: (1) the *emancipation* of a country; (2) diplomatic *vindication* of its juridical right to existence; (3) its *validation* by demonstrated capacity to survive and perform obligations; (4) its final *investiture* with the full legal rights of nationhood. The treatment of these phases constitute the essence of Professor Graham's study, in which he is able to refute the reiterated contention of jurists that there are no procedural norms for obtaining recognition,



and that recognition is therefore a matter of chance or caprice.

The study of the fourth phase ends with a consideration of *concerted* recognitions. These "shade almost imperceptibly from *collective notifications* by individual states *acting concertedly*. . . to those *collectively arrived at and notified by one Power acting on behalf of a group*. This final funding of the recognition power marks the transit to a collective basis . . . to a series of acts of collective recognition of ascending scope and importance. They culminate in the established practice of the League of Nations, which in admitting hitherto unrecognized or only narrowly recognized entities as members, endows them with all the juristic attributes of international personality," as happened in the admission of Irak to the League in October, 1932, by the unanimous vote of fifty-two delegations.

"Thus acts of recognition deriving from the progressively funded authority of first a coalition, then a congress, then a confederation of states, draw very nigh to the threshold of international organization. Funded political authority, when it is great enough to legitimate if not to create states, has become both in fact and law supranational in character. It is a new phenomenon in international law." It is also here to stay, because "it is indissociable from the nature and indisservable from the functioning of organized international society."

S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG.

*University of California at Los Angeles.*

WISH-HUNTING IN THE UNCONSCIOUS. An Analysis of Psychoanalysis. By Milton Harrington, M.D. New York: Macmillan Company, 1934. 189 pp. \$2.50.

Dr. Harrington was one of the first full-time college psychiatrists (at Dartmouth) in this country and is now at the Napanoch (N. Y.) Institution. He finds mental ill-

ness one of the most pressing problems of the day; and while he finds some truth in the psychoanalytic therapy he finds its viewpoint fundamentally erroneous. His first five chapters expose the theory and practice of psychoanalysis, how it is proven, its practical value and how it achieved its passing popularity. The final chapter of fifty pages presents his alternative.

To the educated layman who has sought in vain to penetrate the mysteries of psychoanalysis and has a vague but uneasy feeling that it somehow violates the criteria of science, this book will prove a godsend. While it makes no pretense of guiding the reader through all the labyrinthine catacombs of psychoanalytic aberrations, it does present in very clear manner what appears to be a fair outline of fundamental claims, chapter and verse being cited. The attack is based on the contention, which is almost too obvious to the reviewer, that psychoanalysis is essentially animistic and hence outmoded. In essence the psychoanalytic treatment is not new. It is a form of suggestion, and hence as old as the medicine man and the witch doctor, and like their ancient practices has its theoretical foundations in a form of animism. Even though it is true as the author states, that psychoanalysis is losing vogue, even though it is going through a considerable metamorphosis, doubtless without losing its native character, this clear and brief exposition of its basic vagaries will be widely welcomed.

The constructive chapter is only an outline of an approach to the study of psychophysiology, psychopathology, and mental hygiene. The treatment is too sketchy to give anything like a satisfactory picture of how we become the personalities we are, but as a viewpoint is in harmony with the trends of psychological research. This viewpoint is called mechanistic as over against the animistic or motivistic ap-

proach. Mechanistic concepts are less popular than they were not long since, because of the growth of the organismic or organicist view. However, the author's intention is to place the study of behavior on a realistic, tangible, and understandable basis, devoid of every species of mysticism. He would doubtless react as strongly to the notion of an indwelling entelechy as he does against the notion of the anal personality. As an outline of fundamentals one will scarcely find anywhere a statement so clean-cut as this final chapter. It presents a framework, which many sociologists and social workers will find useful in giving form and clarity to the intricacies of modern psychology.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

THE RUSSIANS IN HOLLYWOOD. By George Martin Day. Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1934. 101 pp. \$1.50, cloth; \$1.25, paper. (Social Science Series No. 7.)

This recent contribution to the sociological study of immigrant groups is outstanding in its monographic treatment and literary presentation. The reader is compelled to follow with equal interest and sympathy the gradual rooting into American soil of this self-exiled group of approximately 1500 Russians, who left their country either because of their allegiance to the Czarist régime or because of their aversion to the political philosophy of the Soviet Republic. The psychological insight of the author into the problems of cultural conflict and accommodation, of both the individual and the group, is paramount. Dr. Day endeavors to catch the dynamic interaction of two different cultures upon the process of integration and disintegration of personality, according to the ability of the individual to harmonize with a minimum of effort and a maximum of success the exigencies of social control

imposed by each culture. Hence the grip of the group upon the individual is rather loose, mystical, casual or incidental, because of the subtle varieties of the original social and economic strata, from which these émigrés have emerged, and of the equally diverse stratification of these Russians into the web of American society. This is more easily explained by the individualistic tendencies of the personalities involved. Consequently the group is studied through individuals, in constant interaction between the old and the new worlds of ideas and of attitudes. Most of these Hollywood Russians belong to the aristocracy of traditional social supremacy or that of the mind. They have artistic talents and careers and are engaged in liberal professions, which in themselves are international in nature and in social value, a factor which might facilitate the process of their adaptation to the new environment. Yet the latter is conditioned by the personal attitude of the Slavophile, his willingness or stubbornness to accept or reject the new culture. The processes of conflict or accommodation thus differ from individual to individual, irrespective of the two interesting differences between the older group, "permeated with the ancient culture traditions" and the younger group of "students and artists, engineers and professional folk," who do not cling to it so tenaciously. These processes are illustrated by specific cases presented with psychological penetration and dramatic ability. The author analyzes after each case the psychological reactions and the reasons of failure or success of both the individual and the group involved. Thus constantly pointing out the advantages or disadvantages that the transplanted Russian exile reaps out of the impact with his American environment, according to his personal or racial endowment or shortcomings, and the benefits that the Ameri-

can civilization might gain by gradually absorbing the ethnic contributions of its adopted citizens, such as Art Clubs, restaurants, the Russian Orthodox Church, and all the infiltration of Russian art into the life of the mind, the author concludes

that: "Los Angeles will be decidedly richer in culture and in art appreciation because of the presence and cultural activities of the Russian colony in Hollywood."

CHRISTINE GALITZI.

*Scripps College.*

### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- 1 PHOTOGRAPH RUSSIA. By James E. Abbe. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1934. 324 pp. \$3.00.
- THE ADOLESCENT IN THE FAMILY. A Publication of White House Conference on Child Care and Protection. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934. 473 pp. \$3.00.
- WOMEN MUST WORK. By Richard Aldington. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1934. 380 pp. \$2.50.
- CANDY. By L. M. Alexander. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1934. 310 pp. Illustrated by Rockwell Kent. \$2.50.
- THE UNITS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. An enumeration and analysis. By William Anderson. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1934. 38 pp. \$5.00.
- ORES AND INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AMERICA. By H. Foster Bain and Thomas Thornton Read. New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1934. 381 pp. \$3.50.
- CANADIAN ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION. By John A. Ball, Jr. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1934. 105 pp. \$2.00.
- BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRANSIENT AND HOMELESS. By Lucy A. Bassett. Jacksonville: Transient Department Florida Emergency Relief Administration, November, 1934. 87 pp. \$0.38.
- STORY PICTURES OF FARM ANIMALS. By John Y. Beatty. Chicago: Beckley-Cardy Company, 1934. 155 pp. Illustrated. \$70.
- THE BEGINNINGS OF MARXIAN SOCIALISM IN FRANCE. By Samuel Bernstein. New York: Elliot Publishing Company, 1934. 229 pp. \$2.50.
- CHAUTAUQUA PUBLICATIONS. An Historical and Biographical Guide. By Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr. Chautauqua, New York: Chautauqua Press, 1934. 67 pp.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL NATURE OF THE SELF. By Christopher John Bittner. Iowa City: The Author, 1934. 433 pp.
- THE RELATIONS OF LEARNING. By William Bennett Bizzell. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934. 178 pp. \$2.50.
- THE CONCEPT OF OUR CHANGING LOYALTIES. By Herbert A. Bloch. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. 319 pp. \$4.50.
- LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP. By Emory S. Bogardus. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934. 325 pp. \$3.00.
- THE MEXICAN IN THE UNITED STATES. By Emory S. Bogardus. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934. 126 pp. \$1.25, paper; \$1.60, cloth.
- SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE NATIONAL RECOVERY PROGRAM. Edited by James H. S. Bossard. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1934. 269 pp. \$2.50.
- HOW TO LEAD DISCUSSIONS. A Guide for the Use of Group Leaders. By LeRoy E. Bowman. New York: The Woman's Press, 1934. 31 pp. \$0.35. Paper.
- THE CURSE OF BIGNESS. Miscellaneous Papers of Louis D. Brandeis. Edited by Osmond K. Fraenkel as projected by Clarence M. Lewis. New York: Viking, 1934. 339 pp. \$3.50.
- THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT: AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ENACTMENT. By A. Caperton Braxton. Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell Company, 1934. 78 pp.
- THE HUMAN MACHINE. By Lorena M. Breed. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1934. 101 pp. \$1.50.
- SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. The Natural History of Human Nature. By Lawrence Guy Brown. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934. 651 pp. \$3.50.
- SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY ECONOMICS. Edited by Norman S. Buck. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934. 846 pp. \$3.00, special university edition.
- HUMAN PERSONALITY AND THE ENVIRONMENT. By Charles Macfie Campbell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. 252 pp. \$3.00.
- CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK. REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1934. New York: 522 Fifth Avenue. 167 pp.
- WHAT NEGRO NEWSPAPERS OF GEORGIA SAY ABOUT SOME SOCIAL PROBLEMS, 1933. By Rollin Cham-

- bliss. Athens: University of Georgia. 117 pp. \$1.00.
- BLACK ANGELS OF ATHOS.** By Michael Choukas. Foreword by Robert M. MacIver. Brattleboro, Vermont: Stephen Daye Press, 1934. 327 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.
- CIVILIAN HOME SERVICE.** A Discussion of Organization and Principles and Procedures Involved in Family Social Case Work as a Chapter Program. Washington, D. C.: The American National Red Cross, 1934. 53 pp.
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